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The Interallied Conference in London. This photograph, taken outside the Foreign Office during the first recess on the opening day, July 16, shows in the front row from left to right: Kellogg (U. S. A.), Thomas (Belgium), Herriot (France), MacDonald (Great Britain), Stepani (Italy) and Hanyashi (Japan)

The Reparations Settlement

Allies' Agreement on Dawes Plan the Basis of New German Pledges

By ROBERT McELROY

Edwards Professor of American History, Princeton University.

SHORTLY before the French elections of May, 1924, M. Poincaré, then Premier, promised to visit the British Premier, Ramsay MacDonald, to discuss the Dawes report; but those elections devolved upon the new French Premier, M. Herriot, the responsibility for keeping that engagement. Accordingly, on June 21, M. Herriot arrived in England and after conferring with Mr. MacDonald at Chequers returned to France the following day. As a result of the meeting the London Interallied Conference was summoned, France, Italy, Belgium, Japan, Greece, Portugal, Rumania, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia being invited by Mr. MacDonald to be represented. Germany was not included, although she had accepted the Dawes report, nor was Russia, despite the fact that Great Britain had already recognized the Soviet Government and Premier Herriot had already given notice of France's intention to do so at an early date.

The day after the Chequers conference the Paris papers announced that Premier MacDonald had promised France a defensive guarantee against attack, a charge which the British Premier positively denied when questioned in the House of Commons; and to which Premier Herriot, on his side, made no claim. The French Opposition, however, showed a disposition to employ the charge as a means of overthrowing the Herriot Government and,

at Herriot's earnest request, MacDonald hurried to France in the hope that he might do something to avert this result. The Herriot Ministry was sustained; but upon his return to London MacDonald found himself faced with a menacing opposition. On July 14 ex-Premier Asquith, the Liberal leader, appeared in the House of Commons in what is called "a full-dress debate," denounced "the new diplomacy," and pointed out that between the Chequers statement and the Anglo-French memorandum of the previous week there were discrepancies and divergences too patent to require stating. After patiently hearing the criticisms offered by Asquith, Baldwin and other prominent leaders, Premier MacDonald declared that he was "far more interested in the day after tomorrow than in last Thursday," and that he would avoid further discussion of discrepancies in view of more pressing problems. Nine-tenths of the trouble, he said, was due to the fact "that the Reparation Commission has ceased to work; that to all intents and purposes—certainly so far as occupation of the Ruhr is concerned—it has been scrapped and decision and initial and subsequent action has been taken, not by the Reparation Commission, but by Governments and Governments not acting together, but acting on their own individual initiative." The inference was clear; that the chief problem of the London Conference was to be, in his opinion, the substitution of friendly cooperation for indi-



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COLONEL JAMES A. LOGAN JR.
American Observer on the Reparation
Commission

vidual action. The crisis in the British Parliament was thus passed.

The Reparation Commission, which Premier MacDonald had declared "scrapped," sat late on July 14, deliberating upon a request from the British and the French Prime Ministers for "suggestions for the establishment of a plan according to which economic, fiscal unity will be re-established following the decision of the Reparation Commission that the Dawes plan has been put into operation." The commission in reply suggested:

1. That the manner of transferring the productive guarantees to the bodies established by the Dawes plan be left to be decided by the conference itself;

2. That the Dawes report be considered in operation after:

- (a) Complete cession by Germany to the trustees provided by the experts of the different obligations called for in their report;

- (b) The completion of the constitution of the bank of issue provided in the Dawes plan;

- (c) The constitution of a company

charged with the exploitation of the railroads;

- (d) The total placing of the first loan of 800,000,000 gold marks.

Meanwhile information had arrived to the effect that the United States would not be a signatory to any protocol which the conference might draw up, and many intelligent observers echoed the view expressed in a letter from Pierrepont B. Noyes to General Charles G. Dawes on July 9: "Herriot cannot agree to share with Great Britain and Italy the power she now has in the Reparation Commission to independently declare German default. Great Britain, on the other hand, cannot agree to join France in enforcing penalties against Germany if she has no voice in decreeing those penalties. Again, if Premier Herriot were to weaken, Poincaré and the military party would break him."

CONFERENCE OPENED

On July 15 MacDonald went in person to the Victoria Station to receive the French Prime Minister and his thirty colleagues. The next morning the conference was formally opened with the following delegates present:

BELGIUM—M. Theunis, M. Hymans, Baron Moncheur.

BRITISH EMPIRE — Ramsay MacDonald, Philip Snowden, J. H. Thomas and Sir Eyre Crowe.

FRANCE—M. Herriot, M. Clémentel, General Nollet and Count Peretti della Rocca.

ITALY—Signor Di Stefani, Senator De Nava, Marchese de la Toretta and Signor Pirelli.

JAPAN—Baron Hayashi and Viscount Ishii.

UNITED STATES—Ambassador Kellogg and J. A. Logan Jr.

PORTUGAL—Senator Augusto de Castro.

GREECE—Demetrius Caclamanos.

RUMANIA—Nicholas Titulescu.

SERB-CROAT-SLOVENE KINGDOM—Michel Gavrilovitch.

Experts and advisers brought the number of the personnel up to about 150. Ambassador Kellogg was the only accredited representative of the United States, but throughout the deliberations Colonel James A. Logan Jr., who has followed the complexities of the reparations problem from the beginning, sat beside the Ambassador as his official adviser. Four other Americans, two from the Embassy and two of Colo-

nel Logan's assistants, were included in the Conference Secretariat. The only other American who participated was Owen D. Young, who was a member of the Dawes Committee on the German Budget and Currency Problem, and was the General's chief aid in drawing up the experts' proposals.

Premier MacDonald, upon the nomination of Premier Herriot, seconded by Premier Theunis, was unanimously elected President, and his address was a plea for strict adherence to the Dawes report as drafted. "We must not try to alter its details," he said, "or we shall be back in the disagreements where we have been so often before. Attempts to find agreement on small things of meticulous interest will always fail." With the skill which a past generation would not have expected from the head of a Labor Government, he analyzed the problems to be considered. "Of these conditions," he said, "two seem absolutely essential. The first is that the economic and fiscal unity of Germany shall be restored; the second, that adequate security shall be given to the creditors who are to be asked to advance a very large loan, which is the basis of the plan. The mechanism by which this is to be done presents some difficulties, but I am certain they can be overcome, and that we can unite as the final word of our deliberations here that word which has for so long been absent from our conclusions—Success."

Without delay three committees were constituted, Premier MacDonald suggesting that they work upon the general basis of the Franco-British memorandum of July 9. The first dealt with the problem of German default; to decide what body was to

adjudicate upon whether Germany shall have defaulted under the Dawes scheme and in that case what measures were to be taken. The second committee considered the best way of restoring the German economic and fiscal unity as postulated by the Dawes committee. The third was instructed to deal with the methods of transferring German payments from the receiving body in Berlin to the creditor countries. On each of these three committees there was strong American representation. On the first and second were Ambassador Kellogg, Colonel James A. Logan Jr., Frederick Dolbeare and Leon Fraser; on the third, Ambassador Kellogg and Colonel Logan.

In his reply to Premier MacDonald's address of welcome the American Ambassador made clear his position in these words: "We

do not come in the same capacity or with the same powers as the other delegates because we are not parties to the Versailles Treaty or sanctions now in force; but we come in the same spirit and desire to be helpful. * * * I can say simply that my Government and the people of the United States believe that the adoption of the Dawes report is the first great step toward the rehabilitation



Wide World

General Nolle, French War Minister, arriving at the Foreign Office, London, for the Interallied Conference

of Europe, the stabilization of its industries and the happiness of the people."

On July 17 Owen D. Young gave to *Le Matin* what he considered the three conditions essential to the securing of American capital sufficient to insure the putting of the Dawes plan into operation. These were declared to be:

First—Accord with Germany. The American people will not lend if force is the only guarantee and will require that Germany accept the contract.

Second—Certainty that Germany will not be troubled by unforeseen or unjustified exterior intervention; in other words, there must be a guarantee of tranquillity.

Third—Assurance that the German revenues designed to repay the loans will not be diverted from that purpose and seized by a foreign power.

When asked by a Berlin reporter whether the first loan of 800,000,000 gold marks would be forthcoming, he replied: "Undoubtedly, if all the business conditions as set forth in the plan itself are complied with."

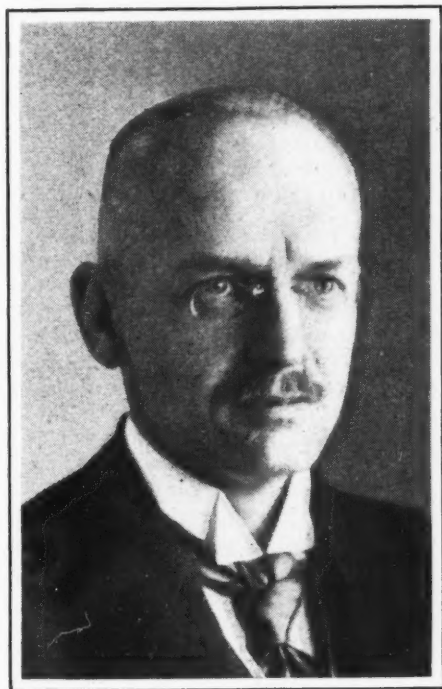
Canadian participation in the loan was made more likely by the announcement, on July 17, that Premier King had won his fight for Canadian representation in the conference, and that Senator Belcourt would be one of the three representatives of the British Empire, distinctly representing Canada. This adjustment, while satisfying Canada, caused a clamor from the other British Dominions, resulting, on July 18, in a statement from J. H. Thomas, Colonial Secretary, that there should be representation of the Dominions so desiring and of India, arranged on the panel system, and that their delegates might attend the conference even on days when it was not their turn to sit as members of the British delegation.

FRENCH ANXIETY

Dispatches from France indicated anxiety lest Herriot be persuaded to give up the French right to individual action against Germany, thus leaving France without recourse should the Dawes plan fail to work. But these dispatches made it clear that French public opinion would gladly accept an American member on the Reparation

Commission, not as a mere arbiter, but as a full-voting member, a change which would take from France the technical control of the Reparation Commission which existing arrangements left in her hands. That Herriot could safely go further was declared more than doubtful, the dispatches reiterating the warning that neither the French Parliament nor the French people would countenance any agreement which would make individual action by France impossible. This attitude was reflected by the French delegates in the meetings of the three committees where they insisted that agreements for concerted action would not justify them in definitely consenting to yield the right of separate action against Germany should concerted action prove a failure. Even the argument that explicit acknowledgment of such a right on the part of France would frighten the investing public and endanger the loan could not move them. What they insisted on was security for France not less but greater than that already existing.

A dispatch, dated July 19, announced that "the committee * * * in charge of sanctions in the event of Germany's default under the Dawes scheme [No. 1], this morning unanimously agreed to assure to investors in the loan to Germany priority on all German resources, * * * (and) to preserve all the rights enjoyed by the nations which signed the Treaty of Versailles. * * * The agreement on the preservation of the rights of the signatories to the treaty was a concession to Premier Herriot of France, and in effect preserves to France the right to take separate action." A dispatch of July 20 declared: "The first and third (committees) have now practically completed their work. * * * The second, which is dealing with arrangements for the evacuation of the Ruhr, found little difficulty * * * in reaching an agreement on the main features. * * * Certain technical details were, however, referred to a subcommittee, which worked all



Keystone

HANS LUTHER

German Finance Minister and delegate at the Interallied Conference in London

day today on plans for securing the safety of whatever troops might remain to insure the invisible occupation of the Ruhr."

At this point Charles E. Hughes appeared in London. "Mr. Hughes's present visit * * *," said The London Times, "is entirely unofficial; that is to say, he has come to London not in the capacity of Secretary of State of the Government of the United States, but simply as a member of the American bar. * * * His presence * * * at this moment is, however, very welcome in virtue of his personality and experience, if not of his office. * * * Not as the American Secretary of State, but as Charles E. Hughes, on a holiday, he cannot but exert by his mere presence in London an important influence on the proceedings of the conference."

The report of the First Committee

became available on July 20, and that evening Secretary Hughes illustrated the truth of The London Times prediction by informing Premier MacDonald informally at a dinner at Ambassador Kellogg's residence that the American and British bankers could not accept the formula agreed upon by the committee, and that no loan could be arranged upon such terms. He suggested a meeting between these bankers and the French delegates. The suggestion was adopted and the meeting took place the next day (July 21) at 10 Downing Street, under the Presidency of Philip Snowden, British Chancellor of the Exchequer. Among those present were M. Clémentel, French Minister of Finance; M. Parmentier, French financial expert; Reginald McKenna, Walter Leaf, Sir Montague Norman, Thomas W. Lamont and Owen D. Young. The representatives of the British and American bankers told the French delegates that the necessary loan could not be floated unless the Reparation Commission were definitely ruled out. To this the French delegates felt unable to assent and after a prolonged discussion the conference adjourned without reaching any agreement. The bankers, on the other hand, insisted that the political safeguard embodied in the mere association of an American with the Reparation Commission on the occasion of a German default, which the French had suggested, was inadequate protection for the lenders, as the change would not insure an impartial majority on that body. They declared their belief that Article 4 of the protocol which the First Committee had drawn, contained a loophole for independent action by one power in the future, a possibility which would be fatal to the success of the loan.

HERRIOT'S "ULTIMATUM"

Meanwhile two other serious difficulties had arisen. On July 20, at Lord Parmoor's luncheon, the French Premier made a statement which The

Continued on Page 1063

The Army Revolt in Brazil

By HERMAN G. JAMES

Professor, Department of Government, University of Texas, and Author of "The Constitutional System of Brazil", and Other Works on Latin-American Affairs

BRAZIL, incomparably the largest in area and in population among the so-called Latin-American States, has also had on the whole the most peaceful and orderly development of them all. During the three-quarters of a century following the revolutionary year 1810, while the embryonic Spanish American republics were witnessing generations of fighting, bloodshed and anarchy, relieved only by periods of tyranny strong enough to suppress revolt, Brazil was progressing, slowly and haltingly at times but on the whole steadily, toward her goal. From a colonial dependency to a coordinate member of the United Kingdom of Portugal, Brazil and the Algarves, then to an independent empire, a constitutional monarchy and finally a federal republic, Brazil passed by easy stages, practically without bloodshed.

Since the establishment of the republic in 1889, the only disturbance that seriously threatened the stability and progress of Brazil was the Naval Revolt of 1893, and that revolt, it is significant to note, was caused, or at least in large part made possible, by the discontent of the navy with the privileged position occupied by the army under the administrations of the first two Presidents of the republic, Deodoro da Fonseca and Floriano Peixoto.

In view of this unusually peaceful and orderly history and constitutional development, the news of a revolution in Sao Paulo on July 5, which, according to newspaper reports, threatened the stability of the National Government, and which did in fact continue for more than three weeks, with thousands of troops involved and hundreds, if not thousands, of casualties suffered, came more or less as a thunderbolt out of a clear sky. But to an observer of Brazilian political conditions during the

last few years the occurrence was not nearly so incomprehensible.

Out of the mass of conflicting reports, some of them obviously the purest fabrication and imagination of press correspondents unable to get at the facts and compelled to send some kind of a story, one or two significant facts stood forth from the outset. One of these was the date on which the revolution began, namely, July 5. Another was the fact that the revolution was directed against the National Government, not primarily against the State Government of Sao Paulo, for the State President, who refused to join the rebels, was permitted to leave, and the Vice President of the State (the State executives in eleven of the twenty Brazilian States are called Presidents) was offered the direction of the revolutionary Government, which he indignantly refused.

These two facts immediately led to the conclusion that this disturbance was a sequel to the military revolt that occurred in Rio de Janeiro on July 5, 1922, an occurrence which the writer himself witnessed. That revolt, which fortunately was nipped in the bud after causing a minimum of destruction of life and property, was directed against President Arturo da Silva Bernardes, and this Sao Paulo outbreak appears to have had the same objective.

Rumors and guesses spoke of a separatist movement, of an economic uprising against intolerable conditions, of a conflict of interests between North and South Brazil. But secession movements do not come to a head overnight. Economic ruin in a progressive and prosperous region of diversified agriculture and of advanced industrial achievement is not the development of a day. Differences of point of view and of economic interests, acute enough to cause an armed revolution, do not

materialize in a few days, or months, or even years.

Just a year ago the writer spent some time in the city of Sao Paulo and in the surrounding regions of the State. For the suggestion of secession there was nothing but a condescending smile of negation among the leaders of politics and thought in Sao Paulo. Of economic ruin there was not a trace. Never had the agricultural crops been so plentiful and so diversified. Each year the State of Sao Paulo has been increasing its staple food crops, its cotton, rice and sugar and its herds of blooded cattle. No longer does Sao Paulo depend as formerly solely upon its coffee. Factories have been developing at an incredible rate, until the value of manufactured articles has surpassed that of the agricultural crops. Proud in her own achievement, Sao Paulo has not accepted aid from the Federal Government in the development of her roads, her schools and her public health program. She may object to the Federal Government spending so much money in aid of the drought-ridden States of the Northeast and of the backward States of the North. But she has had three of her sons in the Presidential chair: she has asked and accepted Federal aid in the valorization of her great export crop, coffee; and with her sister State of Minas Geraes she exercises a powerful if not indeed deter-

mining effect on the policy of the National Government. There is no need for her to resort to arms in order to satisfy all her reasonable aspirations.

ARMY OFFICERS' REVOLT

The revolt in Sao Paulo was not the revolt of a down-trodden State against an oppressive National Government. It was the revolt of a few disgruntled army officers with their misled followers against Dr. Arturo Bernardes, present incumbent of the Presidential office in Brazil, so far at least as any information to the contrary yet available is concerned. Why should army officers revolt against Dr. Bernardes, an upright man, an able executive, as his record as President of his native State of Minas Geraes shows, and the overwhelming choice of the Brazilian electorate at the elections in March, 1922? The answer is that he believes army officers should stay out of politics, because he believes they should be concerned strictly about their own affairs, and because he believes that the economic condition of the country is such as to demand the most rigid economy in military expenditure as well as in all other branches of national administration. In the eyes of the disinterested observer, at any rate, these are not heinous faults, but to understand the bitterness of the military against Dr. Bernardes it must be remembered that they have constituted a very



The scene of the revolt in Brazil against the National Government of the republic

privileged class up to the present in Brazil.

Marshal Deodoro da Fonseca was at the head of the revolting troops that forced the exile of Dom Pedro in 1889, and he automatically became provisional chief and was elected first President by the Constitutional Congress in 1891. He and his military aids were won over to the republican cause in 1889 chiefly because they thought Dom Pedro and his Ministry were not according the military its rightful place in the direction of the country. During his short term as President and during that of his successor the Vice President, Marshal Florina Peixoto, the military officialdom occupied nearly all the important posts and lived on the fat of the land. In 1910 when the military cliques succeeded in having Marshal Hermes da Fonseca, nephew of Deodoro, named as candidate for President, that great Brazilian statesman, Ruy Barbosa stumped the country in opposition, denouncing militarism and militarists. His great campaign caused a nation-wide awakening, though he was defeated by fraud and duress, as many believed.

When Dr. Bernardes came out as a candidate in 1922, in candid opposition to this dominance and privilege of the military, he had the country with him and the militarists were unsuccessful. Defeated at the polls, they were, however, unwilling to abide by that decision, and when all else failed they resorted to a widely ramified military plot to prevent Dr. Bernardes from ever assuming the Presidency, by overthrowing the Government of Dr. Epitacio Pessoa and calling a new election to be controlled by a military dictator as Provisional President.

That was the revolt of July 5, 1922, a criminal and treasonable undertaking that caused the destruction of some property and sacrificed the lives of some scores of innocent civilians and hoodwinked privates. Fortunately it

was discovered in time and energetically suppressed. But what was done with the ringleaders, chief of whom was Hermes da Fonseca, since deceased? So far as the records show not a single one was executed, though they were no better than murderers. Selfishness, not patriotism, was their motive, and they should have paid the penalty of murderers. But in Brazil the death penalty was abolished by the republican Constitution of 1891, save under military law in time of war, and not even the severest penalties permitted were visited upon the proved offenders. If any criticism can be directed against the laws and the Government with reference to the revolt of 1922 it can only be that of too great leniency. The Sao Paulo revolt is the best evidence of the justice of such criticism.

It need cause no surprise that a few thousand troops, led by a small group of malcontents, could stage such a serious disturbance. Having failed in Rio de Janeiro in 1922, they transferred their operations to Sao Paulo. The private in the ranks was given his choice of joining in the movement or being shot. The city was without defenses against a revolt from within, and the Federal Government could not blot a metropolis of 600,000 civilians out of existence by bombardment in order to overcome a regiment or two of rebellious troops. The saddest feature of it all, now that the revolt has been overcome, is that the despicable cowards who hid behind the skirts of an innocent civilian population and then fled to the interior cannot, under Brazilian law, be hanged or shot. That is probably what President Bernardes meant when he said on July 29, after the revolt had been overcome: "It is for us to reorganize Brazil in a manner such that it will be able to repress once for all the possibilities of such rebellions, through revision of our Constitution, or confess failure of our form of government."

What Do the Different Party Labels Mean?

Absence of Issues That Mark Definite Cleavage
Between American Political Forces

By STUART A. RICE

Professor of Sociology, Dartmouth College

TO those who believe that political parties possess clear principles and consistent aims, the Democratic National Convention in New York was a disturbing demonstration. The clash of opposing convictions among those who regarded themselves as brothers in political faith gives cause for reflection: What is the Democratic Party? What is the Republican Party?

These questions cannot be answered without paying some attention to the nature of parties as such and to the history of parties in the United States. Convention keynoters, platforms and campaign orators have usually stressed the continuity of party history. On the one hand the voter's memory is jogged concerning Jefferson, Madison, Jackson and Cleveland. He is reminded that the Democratic Party has a historic mission—the preservation of popular liberties and States' rights. On the other hand he is called upon to note that Lincoln freed the slaves, and his attention is drawn to the greatness and prosperity achieved by the nation under the guidance of McKinley, Roosevelt and the Grand Old Republican Party.

The emphasis on party backgrounds has not been so pronounced in recent elections. The assumptions underlying partisan appeals remain the same, namely, that each party has inherited an historical character and purpose, that it stands for fundamental, persisting and vital attitudes toward the basic issues of political life. These assumptions ac-

cord with the view that parties are born with "appointed tasks." Says one eminent scholar, Anson Daniel Morse, in his "Parties and Party Leaders": "These two functions, first, that of making such changes in the public policy as are necessary to bring it into accord with the principles of a party, and, second, that of guarding the changes until they are fully accepted or cease to be needed, *comprise the whole of a party's mission, and when its mission is fulfilled, the party must die.*" [Italics ours.] It will, of course, follow that if a party does not die, it still has a mission.

According to a contrary trend of opinion, parties when once established may continue to live indefinitely without a dominating and persisting "task." The party in such a case is a vote-getting mechanism, controlled by the power-motives of those who lead it. The mass of the voters can usually be counted upon to follow the party standard blindly from habit. In order to add to these a number sufficient to give the party a majority, the leaders follow an opportunistic policy and are ready, within the limits of their own prejudices and so far as a show of consistency permits, to adopt any side of a public question so long as they may win favor. Says another political historian, William Milligan Stone, in "Party Government in the United States of America": "Parties consist of leaders and led, however composed. The initiated want power primarily; its use is secon-

dary, but the led can only be kept in hand by a certain use of power, or at least the promise so to use it."

Rival party principles are reduced by this logic to rival guesses as to what the voters will approve. By "being all things" to all groups in the electorate, a motley agglomeration of supporters is assembled, who may or may not possess a common denominator of interest or desire apart from the wish to win. It is to be expected that parties will occasionally change sides on current questions and that the leaders on both sides will sometimes make the same estimate of the voters' wants. When this occurs there will be no clear-cut differences between the parties, and the voters will have the choice of "tweedle-dee or tweedle-dum." Nevertheless—so strong is party loyalty itself as an integrating influence—those on either side will identify themselves with the "tweedle" issue and vigorously support the "cause." This will go on until the voter's inertia is broken by some new and disturbing question which brings a contrary and more powerful response into play, resulting in a new party cleavage.

ORIGINAL PARTY ALIGNMENT

The American Revolution marked the ascendancy in the Colonies of a democratic tendency. With the achievement of independence the democratic impulses of the people, no longer checked, were carried to excess and resulted in a conservative reaction. It was the latter that brought into being the Constitutional Convention of 1787 and led, though by the narrowest of margins, to the eventual acceptance of the Constitution by all the thirteen States. The friends of the Constitution were carried by the same reaction into control of the young republic, where they had every incentive for the centralization and strengthening of its powers. Though they had taken the name Federalists, they were in reality Nationalists. Many, like Hamilton, preferred a monarchical form of government and espoused the

Constitution as the closest approach to a monarchy that could be imposed.

It was not ungrounded fear of the Federalist policies that animated Jefferson and those whose democratic views with his had been incorporated in the Declaration of Independence. In the representative democracies of today Liberals and Democrats may urge unlimited authority for the Government that they hope to control. Where authority is unrepresentative and unlimited, as in the early British monarchy, the first task of democrats is to impose limits and checks upon their rulers. This task had not been finished in the latter days of the eighteenth century and democrats still thought in terms of the struggle for its completion. Jefferson and his school inevitably regarded the Federalist centralization as monarchical and tyrannical in tendency. There was an obvious means of checking the developments they feared; they held for strict construction of the Constitution and the preservation unimpaired under it of the powers and prestige of the individual States, which were under more popular control. Out of this policy of the Jeffersonians and the Anti-Federalists emerged the Democratic-Republican Party, the defender of States' rights and decentralized government, ancestor of the modern Democratic Party.

The Democratic Party of today contains two highly diverse elements. It controls the "solid South" in national, State and local elections. It is likewise, with numerous outstanding exceptions, a party of the masses in Northern cities. In the latter, however, its interest is chiefly in the retention of local dominance through a city or State "machine." Large blocs of voters—for example, the Italian-Americans in New York—are Democratic in State and municipal, but Republican in national elections. In nearly every State outside New England, Harding's vote in 1920 was proportionately greater in the cities than in the rural districts. Charges that local "bosses" had "knifed" the national Democratic ticket have been common in New York and Boston. What,



Henry Miller

The United States Senate committee appointed to investigate campaign expenditures in the Presidential and Senatorial elections. Senator W. E. Borah, Chairman, is at the right of the photograph, and the other members, from left to right, are: Senator H. Shipstead of Minnesota, Senator Wesley Jones of Washington and Senator T. F. Bayard of Delaware

then, was the origin of this strange union, and has its persistence been a matter of logic, of principle or of habit?

A sectional cleavage in national elections was apparent as early as 1796. Of 98 electoral votes received in that year by Jefferson and Aaron Burr of New York, the leading Democratic-Republican nominees under the old form of election, 71, or 73 per cent., came from below the Mason and Dixon line. South Carolina, Delaware and Maryland were the only Federalist States in the South. Of 130 votes given to John Adams and Thomas Pinckney of South Carolina, the principal Federalist candidates, 27, or 21 per cent., were from this region. A similar cleavage occurred in the "party revolution of 1800" that gave to Jefferson and his party the reins of power. In 1828, 83 per cent. of the popular votes of Alabama, Georgia, Mississippi, North Carolina, Tennessee and Virginia were cast for Andrew Jackson. In the six New England States, 68 per cent. of the voters demanded the re-election of John Quincy Adams of Massachusetts, standard-bearer of the

National Republican Party, successor to the Federalists. Urban voters in New York were already accustomed to being "regular" in support of the Democratic ticket under the leadership of Tammany spoilsmen.

NORTH AND SOUTH

According to Jefferson, the Democratic-Republican Party was composed "of the landed and laboring interests of the country," whereas the cities (meaning the trading and business classes) were "the strongholds of Federalism." The early commercial and capitalist groups were concentrated in New England and the middle States—collectively, the North. They desired a strong Government for the protection and encouragement of commercial interests. They were creditors, and creditors are invariably found upon the side of strong and stable government. Hamilton hoped by a protective tariff to develop a manufacturing interest as well.

The South, both in its conservative tidewater areas and in its democratic frontier up-country regions, was agri-

cultural, non-commercial and in debt to the North. It was unfavorable to the tariff, to the United States Bank, to internal improvements—all representative of the centralizing tendency and of prospective benefit to the North rather than to the South. Hence the North, in general, was Federalist, and the South, in general, was Democratic-Republican. In subsequent decades, when cotton and slaves had produced a more uniform type of civilization in the South, the slave interest was voiced through the party to which the section was accustomed. The doctrine of strict construction, moreover, was suited to the slave-owner's defense.

At the time of the Revolution, Tories were numerous in the Northern cities. In New York City they were alleged to comprise one-half of the population. Tory sentiment became Federalist sentiment and provoked a natural reaction among the patriotic, nativist and anti-aristocratic masses. Politicians of the Tammany type consolidated the sentiments of these lower classes within the Democratic-Republican Party, where they remained; later including the immigrant groups of the population as well. Hence, a sectional cleavage against "capital" in the South, a class cleavage against "capital" in the North, laid the historical foundation for the anomalous constituency of the Democratic Party today.

Verbal hostility to "the Wall Street interests" still provides a semblance of unity between the two diverse elements. Upon this ground Mayor Hylan of New York City and the Senators from Arkansas or Texas can still unite; yet this is more sham than reality. The Democratic machines in New York or Boston are controlled by "interests" as unsympathetic or hostile to the needs of the South as the "money power" which both attack. Governor Alfred E. Smith, idol of the New York proletariat, is himself accused by William J. Bryan of being a representative of Wall Street. Moreover, the new South has developed a manufacturing and commercial interest more opposed to labor and the masses—

because less restrained by public control and labor organization—than is the capitalism of the North.

Nor is there any other question of current political importance upon which the Tammany Democrat and the Southern reactionary could agree. A multitude of issues which may be termed convictional, such as prohibition, the clash of nativism with foreign "ways," religion, are once more threatening to crowd purely economic issues to one side. The Tammany member is "wet," Catholic and of foreign birth or extraction. The Southern Democrat is an ardent "dry," intensely Protestant and belligerently a native American. The political antinomy could scarcely be greater in 1924.

STRICT CONSTRUCTION IN PRACTICE

The old slogans of strict construction and States' rights sound hollow and thin when used by Democrats today. They have always been honored more in the breach than in the observance. Jefferson himself had no sooner been elected President than the practical exigencies of office compelled him to strain the Constitution more severely than had the Federalists. In the purchase of Louisiana, the promotion of internal improvements, the creation of the second Bank of the United States and the passage of distinctly protective tariff acts, the Democratic-Republican Administrations from Jefferson to Monroe were clearly out of harmony with Democratic-Republican principles and in strict accord with Federalism.

A similar inconsistency characterized the legislation enacted by the more recent Wilson Administration. Consider the following summary of this legislation contained in the Democratic platform of 1924:

The party pledges were faithfully fulfilled and a Democratic Congress enacted an extraordinary number of constructive and remedial laws. The economic life of the nation was quickened. Tariff taxes were reduced. A Federal Trade Commission was created. A Federal farm loan system was established. Child labor legislation was enacted. A good roads bill was passed. Eight-hour laws were adopted. A Secretary of Labor was given a seat in the Cabinet of the President.

The Clayton amendment to the Sherman anti-trust law was passed, freeing American labor and taking it from the category of commodities.

By the Smith-Level bill, improvement of agricultural conditions was effected. A corrupt practice act was adopted. A well-considered warehouse act was passed. Federal employment bureaus were created. Farm Loan Banks were organized and the Federal Reserve System was established.

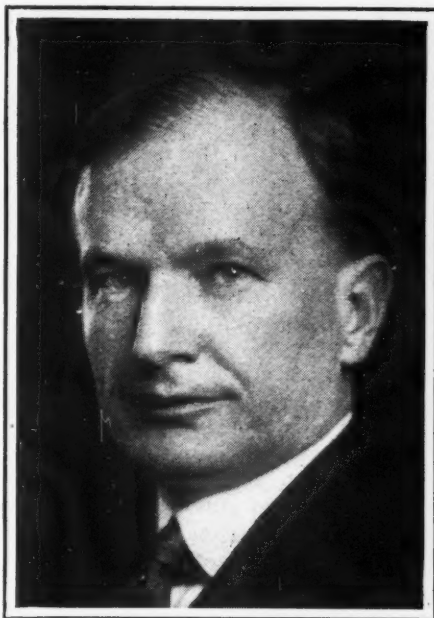
With two or three exceptions all the accomplishments listed are invasions of the field of State action, while only one of them, reduction of the tariff, tends in the slightest degree in the direction of States' rights and strict construction. The record is hopelessly inconsistent with the following expression in the same platform:

We demand that the States of the Union shall be preserved in all of their vigor and power. They constitute a bulwark against the centralizing and destructive tendency in the Republican Party. We condemn the efforts of the Republican Party to nationalize the functions and duties of the States.

The fact is that the democratic movement (democracy with a small "d") has consistently demanded not less government from Washington, but more. The democratic spirit of the Jeffersonian and Jacksonian schools has been, and is more than ever today, inconsistent with the doctrines which are supposed to embody it. The Democratic Party which nominated Alton B. Parker in 1904 was loyal to the word, but disloyal to the spirit of its fathers. The Democratic Party of William Jennings Bryan and Woodrow Wilson was faithful to their spirit, but approaching close to hypocrisy when it quoted the fathers' professions of policy as its own.

The party of Lincoln arose from the slavery issue. Under its guidance the Union was preserved, involuntary servitude was forever outlawed and the colored population was accorded all the constitutional rights of citizenship. No Republican platform down to 1888 neglected to point with pride to these achievements.

After it had emerged from the civil strife, with all party opposition crushed as a result of military victory, the Republican Party was certain to reflect the new capitalistic forces which were



BURTON K. WHEELER

United States Senator from Montana, who has been selected as candidate for Vice President on the Independent Progressive ticket headed by Senator La Follette

rebuilding and dominating American life. These forces had been in fundamental opposition to the slave civilization of the South. For well understood psychological reasons, reaction follows the emotional fervor developed during a war, and this was the situation in the late '60s and '70s. The North and West were ready for free land, industrial expansion and the philosophy of the full dinner pail. The Republican Party was the most logical agency for the political expression of these wants. It became the party of conservatism and "big business."

So secure was the hold of the party upon the nation's politics that Republican administration in many Northern and Western States was taken for granted. The South was but little more solidly Democratic than was much of the North and West solidly Republican. Excepting the election of 1912, in which the Republican vote was split, the Republican ticket has carried every Presi-

dential election since 1860 in the States of Iowa, Maine, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island and Vermont. One election only has been lost in Illinois (1892), New Hampshire (1916), Ohio (1916), Oregon (1868) and Wisconsin (1892). Political preferment in most of these States, by those who were not hopelessly visionary, has been sought through the Republican Party as a matter of course.

It followed that, when new sectional or class interests rose to political importance in these States, the Republican Party was the most probable agency through which they sought expression. This was especially true after the direct primary system enabled popular opinion to be more quickly reflected in party control. Just as the slave interests of the South promoted their cause through the party which was in the ascendancy in their region, so the rising tide of agrarian and labor discontent in the Northwestern States has found its natural outlet in the party traditionally in control of this section. The policy of "capturing control of the dominant party" employed by the Non-Partisan League in North Dakota has been unprecedented only because it was avowed, was employed on behalf of a popular movement, and utilized the direct primary.

Although the causes of discontent (notably the distress of agriculture) have not been confined to the Northwest, they have reached their maximum there; moreover it is only in that region that the voters affected have been sufficiently numerous and "class conscious" to obtain control of party machinery. Thus the Republican Party, like its rival, has been divided and the division has been largely sectional. La Follette, Frazier, Brookhart, Ladd and Norris have snuggled in the party nest with du Pont, Lodge and Brandegee. The first named are progressive, agrarian and in favor of unlimited Federal action for the benefit of farmers and workingmen. Their strength is in the Middle West. The latter are known as conservative, industrial and opposed to paternalism,

with a viewpoint typically Eastern. All have an equal right, at least within their own States, to be called Republicans.

As in the case of the Democrats, the original "mission" of Republicanism has become a mere tradition and little more. Although the Republican platform of 1924 calls for the enactment of a Federal anti-lynching law, a Republican Congress failed, in spite of a great deal of pressure, to enact the Dyer bill embodying the conservative desires of the colored people for such a measure. The party has consistently declined to take overt steps for the enforcement of the negro's constitutional rights of suffrage in the Southern States. Although both parties condemn the Ku Klux Klan by inference in their platforms of 1924, the plank adopted by the Democrats is the more pointed.

The explanations given by Republicans for their desertion of the colored man provide another anomaly of American politics. The party which coerced half the nation into remaining in the Union now fears to tread upon State rights. The same excuse has been offered for the refusal of a Republican Congress to subject the income from State tax-exempt securities to the Federal income tax. Psychologists refer to such explanations as rationalization. The real reasons are to be sought in the notions of political expediency in the minds of the individual Republican Congressmen and party leaders.

NEGRO SUPPORT LOST

So patent has become Republican indifference to the welfare of the negro that the party is threatened with the loss of his support. It was the colored voters of Wilmington, Del., who in 1922 elected Thomas F. Bayard, a Democrat, to the United States Senate. Fear of the loss of colored support in the North compelled the Republican National Committee to reverse its action reducing the allotment of delegates from Southern States in the 1924 convention, although the action had been demanded by the convention in 1920. The Na-

tional Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the most far-sighted and probably the most influential of the various organizations representing the race, has endorsed the La Follette independent movement as a step toward "the political and economic emancipation of the negro."

Although neither of the major parties can substantiate claims of unity, consistency or clear purpose, the Republican National Convention of 1924 made measurable strides toward the clarification of its position. This was largely a result of accident. President Coolidge secured complete ascendancy in the convention as a result of the campaign for delegates in the Winter of 1923-24. In consequence it was a band-wagon affair. President Coolidge is conceded by his friends and enemies alike to be a high-minded conservative. No attempt was made in the selection of a Vice Presidential nominee to placate the "progressive wing" of the party, nor were any concessions made to the progressives in the organization of the convention, the adoption of a platform or the filling of positions in the party machinery. The platform, the candidates and (so far as the convention had power to bring it about) the party organization are in 1924 squarely conservative.

Whether the Republican Convention or the national leadership of the party has succeeded in making it clearly and permanently conservative cannot now be foreseen. Much depends on the "progressives." Statistical analysis of roll-call votes in the United States Senate during the Sixty-eighth Congress discloses the interesting fact that a tri-partisan group of thirteen Republican, Democratic and Farmer-Labor Senators of the La Follette school, or generally sympathetic therewith, voted together more consistently than did all the Senators belonging formally to either of the major parties. [From unpublished data compiled and computed by the writer.] On a summary of roll-calls, the "cohesion" of the Democratic Senators is represented (in a scale of 100) by the index 63.1. The corresponding in-

dex for the Republican Senators is 66.3 and for the tri-partisan group 71.0.

Is the La Follette group, so far as it is recruited from the Republican benches, to be regarded as having withdrawn with its followers from the Republican Party? If so, the Cleveland convention of Coolidge and Dawes was closely representative of the party. If the La Follette group is still in the party; if the Iowa voters who have renominated Brookhart in a State which has never gone Democratic since it was carried by Franklin Pierce in 1852; or if the farmers who have returned the Nonpartisan League to power on the Republican ticket in North Dakota are still Republicans, then the conservative-progressive cleavage is still within rather than without the party. It must be remembered in this connection that the very States which are the centre of the insurgent movement gave Harding his greatest pluralities in 1920. Wisconsin, North Dakota, Minnesota, Michigan, Vermont and South Dakota, in the order named, piled up pluralities of more than three to one.

THE LA FOLLETTE PARTY

If the La Follette candidacy grows into a political party, the new organization cannot avoid the same sort of internal conflicts that exist in the older bodies. If the campaign issues can be confined to the field of economic distress, taking the form of a combined producer-consumer assault upon middlemen, all will be well, at least so long as the party remains in opposition. Suppose, however, that the party were compelled to take a stand upon prohibition enforcement or revision of the Volstead act. The racial and labor groups in Milwaukee and the Twin Cities of Minnesota will be wholly out of accord upon this issue with the farmers of States to the west and south of them, although both factions are enthusiastic followers of La Follette.

Again, suppose the religious issue, raised by the Ku Klux Klan, should obscure the economic alignment. Lutheran Scandinavians in the Dakotas and

Protestant Iowa farmers would find themselves in strange company with John Fitzpatrick of the Chicago Federation of Labor or Congressman Fiorello LaGuardia and his east side associates in New York. In foreign affairs the La Follette platform is isolationist; yet thousands of followers of La Follette in domestic issues will give first allegiance to any party which promises American participation in the League of Nations. Even with respect to the economic issues that La Follette and his group have raised, difficulty will be found in holding farmers and workingmen together should they come into actual power. The economic questions upon which farmers and workingmen can agree are less numerous than those upon which they tend to differ. [See Chapter II. of the writer's study, "Farmers and Workers in American Politics," now in the press in the Columbia Studies in History, Economics and Public Law.]

If the La Follette movement be regarded as a new and separate party, combining the liberal elements in both of the older major parties, the differences distinguishing it from its parents seem clear. They are fundamentally class differences, and lead to differing views regarding duties of government with respect to economic life. But it cannot be assumed that this split with the older parties has yet occurred. What then—disregarding the economic defection of the "progressives"—distinguishes a Republican from a Democrat?

THE LIQUOR ISSUE

Few political issues have aroused greater feeling and warmer combat than the liquor question. Sharp lines of cleavage are drawn between "wets" and "drys." It seems reasonable to suppose that upon this question, if upon no other, political parties would offer a clear choice of opposing views. One need but to mention in the same breath William Jennings Bryan and the chieftains of Tammany Hall to dispose of the supposition from the Democratic side. Nor is it otherwise within the Repub-

lican camp. For example, examine the attitudes of Republicans in New York and Missouri. "Up-State" farmers in New York are Republican and "dry," bitterly hostile to the boss-ruled political machine that dominates New York City, which is Democratic and "wet." In Missouri, on the other hand, the rural sections of the State are Democratic and "dry," while the boss-ruled city machine in St. Louis is Republican and "wet." Or recall the recent controversy within Republican ranks between Governor Gifford Pinchot of Pennsylvania and Secretary Andrew Mellon of the same State.

The principle of a protective tariff is regarded as one of the foundation rocks of Republicanism; a "tariff for revenue only" is a copyright held by the Democrats. In practice, Republican tariff rates have been "higher," while Democratic rates have been "lower." Fundamental differences of principle have been reduced to a relatively slight margin on a percentage scale.

TARIFF DIFFERENCES

Nor has there been consistency even in this. The higher rates of the Republican Payne-Aldrich bill were by no one attacked more vigorously than by the progressive Republicans. It is true that this measure contributed to the Republican split of 1912, yet La Follette, who did not leave the party, refers to its provisions as "iniquitous." The Underwood tariff (Democratic) was favored by many Republicans in the West. Democratic representatives from Alabama, whose iron and steel industries have become second only to those of Pennsylvania, have supported the protective schedules drawn up by Republicans for that industry. Democratic representatives from Louisiana have stood firm for the protection of sugar. The Farm Bloc in the Sixty-seventh Congress, composed of both Republicans and Democrats, did not oppose high duties in general, but instead devoted itself to securing high protection for agricultural products in the Fordney-

McCumber bill. Yet Governor J. A. Preus of Minnesota, the regular Republican nominee for the United States Senate, holding the endorsement of the Harding Administration, repudiated the Fordney-McCumber tariff in his 1923 campaign against Magnus Johnson and declared that its rates had not benefited the farmers of the Northwest.

In defense of the rights of labor, Democrats claim their party has always stood four-square. Governor Sweet of Colorado, Governor Parker of Louisiana, Governor Smith of New York, Senator Dill of Washington, Senator Gerry of Rhode Island—all present Democratic officeholders—are all among labor's friends. Yet who in recent times has aroused more bitter animosity from organized labor than Palmer and Burleson when members of President Wilson's Cabinet? The Alien and Sedition acts of the Federalists were surpassed in stringency and in severity of enforcement while the Wilson Administration was in undisputed command of the Government.

"The Democratic Party is concerned chiefly with human rights"—according to its recent platform. It need not be pointed out that it was the party of slavery; it is the party which today, in certain Southern States under its control, maintains a contract prison system, and tolerates a peonage system, both of which have been termed by Southern lawmakers themselves as "relics of barbarism."

The Republican Party can make no better claims to friendliness for labor and human rights; in the North and West, at least, its claims are not so good. Although by its own assertion it "has always been the champion of the oppressed," the list of labor injunctions, broken strikes, and "framed" convictions of labor leaders under Republican State and Federal Administrations has led the workingman to view such professions with distrust. Yet again the case is not clear. Some of the leading champions of labor in Congressional and Legislative halls belong to the same

party as Harry M. Daugherty and William J. Burns.

SELF-CONTRADICTORY ATTITUDES

On participation in the affairs of Europe, both parties are divided. The avowed party position in each case is a compromise, if not a straddle. Republicans would normally lead in the demand for participation. But the work of Republicans, notably Roosevelt and Elihu Root, in preparing the way for a League of Nations was appropriated by Wilson. The League thereby became anathema to irreconcilables of both parties. Republican platform writers by favoring the World Court have attempted to placate the party wing which leans toward the League without offending the isolationists unduly. Democratic platform makers urged the League and the Court, but by calling for a referendum they avoided the responsibility of promising American adhesion to either. The result is that a large number of Americans to whom these issues are paramount find their desires inadequately represented in any platform pronouncement.

The list of important political questions on which the position of both parties is obscure or self-contradictory might be continued. On the Ku Klux Klan, for example, the party position again is in each case a straddle.

As to the general character of the two parties at successive elections there have been some curious changes. Bryan and the Democrats were comparatively radical in 1896 and 1900; McKinley and the Republicans were conservative. Roosevelt and the Republicans were comparatively progressive in 1904; Parker and the Democrats were conservative, if not reactionary. Bryan and his following were again leading the liberals in 1908, while Taft and his associates were preparing (so it was later alleged) to "carry out the Roosevelt policies—on a stretcher." The Republican elephant this year is in the conservative pasture; but the Democratic donkey, with a conservative for

President and a radical for Vice-Presidence, to be "hung up on the fence." Charles W. Bryan, Democratic Vice-Presidential nominee, was supported in his election as Governor of Nebraska, 1922, by the Nonpartisan League, the Committee of Forty-eight and local organizations of labor. With R. B. Howell, Republican candidate for the United States Senate, he was placed by these groups at the head of a successful "progressive" and "composite slate." The conservatism of John W. Davis has been well advertised.

Differences do exist between the parties at any one time; the Republican ticket and the La Follette candidacy in the present year offer the voters a clear choice between economic conservatism and economic progressivism. But the differences between Republicanism and Democracy in recent years have not been significant. Neither have they persisted, nor have the party doctrines commanded the united support of either side. A possible exception is the tariff, where a fairly consistent margin of opinion between "higher" and "lower" has been fairly persistent since the Civil War.

What are the Democratic and Repub-

lican parties? Has either a "mission"? If so, sincere and loyal adherents as well as the politicians of each are in violent disagreement concerning the mandate. The Democratic Party is neither conservative nor progressive, neither aristocratic nor democratic, neither the party of the native born nor the party of the foreign born—but all of them. It is a party of loose construction holding the theory that it is a party of strict construction. The Republican Party is outwardly conservative, but may not remain so. In other respects it is at the same time "wet" and "dry," pro-Klan and anti-Klan, pro-capital and pro-labor.

To define either the writer must adapt a definition attributed to Professor Frank Hankins. "A nation," said he, "is a group of people who think they are a nation." Of either the Republican or the Democratic Party it may be said: It is a group of people united by the belief that there is such a party and that they are members of it, one with another. Meanwhile, because they follow true lines of cleavage on vital issues, blocs rather than parties provide the impetus behind legislation in the halls of Congress.



Keeping the Alien Out of America

By WALTER LEWIS TREADWAY

Medical Officer In Charge, Field Investigation of Mental Health, United States Public Health Service; Associate, Preventive Medicine and Hygiene, Harvard Medical School, Boston.

IT is often asserted that all who have come to the North American Continent since its discovery should be considered equally as immigrants. This is entirely misleading because one cannot speak of immigration to a country until it has entered upon a career of national existence. Therefore a distinction is made between those who took part in building the political framework of the Thirteen Colonies and the Federal Union and those who have arrived to find the United States Government and its social and political institutions in working operation. Since the development of the first settlements in the North American Continent efforts to prevent the introduction of undesirable elements into the population have been made by the Colonies, the several States, and finally by our National Government.

According to the Articles of Confederation formulated by the American Colonies, all free inhabitants except "paupers," "vagabonds" and "fugitives from justice" were welcome to come and settle in this new country. These exceptions were necessary, for, by English law, the expenses of any paupers wishing to emigrate were paid by the parish in which they resided. Although workhouses were established for their relief and funds accumulated as additional aid, the numbers grew so large that emigration became imperative, and large numbers of indigent persons, aided by their parishes, betook themselves to the Colonies. Not only were paupers sent from England, but as early as 1786 it was found that convicts were being landed at Baltimore and other points. A communication was addressed to the

British Foreign Secretary protesting against these practices, for it appeared that the emigration of paupers and criminals was being fostered by the British Government.

Eventually it became necessary for all of the Colonies to enact laws for the support of their poor and incapable and to impose penalties upon masters of vessels for bringing paupers or persons convicted of crimes into their provinces. For example, New Netherlands required a surety for the "well demeanour" of all passengers, and failure to provide it meant that masters of ships were obliged to transport all those lacking such surety "to the place from whence they came, or at least out of this Province and Dependencies." Irrespective of the liberal views regarding the arrival of new settlers in the Colonies, their early laws all bear witness to a unity of opinion regarding the exclusion of dependent and defective classes. Even at this early date it had become imperative to adopt a policy of imposing penalties upon common carriers for bringing in undesirables. This policy was later adopted by the Legislatures of the several States and finally by the National Government itself.

The need for excluding undesirables became even more pressing when, in 1838, a great turning point occurred in the influx of immigration to this country. In that year the steamship *Great Western* left Bristol for New York. Two years later Samuel Cunard crossed in his first steamship, the *Britannia*, from Liverpool to Boston in fourteen days. The advent of transatlantic steamships lessened the terrors

of the ocean voyage and reduced the cost of an emigrant's passage from pounds to shillings.

EARLY ANTIPATHY

Until 1882 the majority of immigrants coming to the United States were from Northern and Western Europe. For many years they were predominantly Irish, with the English and the Welsh following closely in aggregate numbers. Those from the British Isles continued to be the dominant factor until 1854, when their numbers were exceeded by emigration from Germany.

In Boston, New York, Baltimore and Philadelphia the Irish population massed itself on certain streets, thus making its separateness in the community more noticeable. The same traits were exhibited by the Germans in Baltimore, New Orleans, St. Louis and Louisville. This separateness in life and habits invited antipathy from the natives. A feeling of contempt existed on the part of native Americans toward all immigrants of the poorer class, irrespective of their race. To the mind

of the average American the typical immigrant was uncleanly in habits, uncouth in speech, lax in morals, ignorant in mind and unskilled in labor. The immigrant bore a stamp of social inequality suggesting an impersonal antipathy on the part of the then native-born.

In addition to this, so far as the Irish and Germans were concerned, there was the primal fact of racial differences between them and Americans. The English immigrant settled down quite naturally among the men of his own blood and tradition, was understood by them and soon accepted as a fellow-citizen. The Irish and German immigrants of different blood and mental outlook stood somewhat apart in character. They were not so well understood nor so easily accepted by men of English blood and American birth. The same was true of immigrants of other nationalities, but being weaker in numbers they were more readily absorbed. The thousands of Irish and Germans, however, held clannishly together and for a time prevented absorption.



The Verplank Building, erected on Ward's Island, New York, in 1864, for the care of sick and helpless immigrants. It is now part of the Manhattan State Hospital, one of the largest institutions in the world for the care of insane persons

Eventually this antipathy crystallized into nativism. In principle it declared, first, that any person of foreign birth was unfitted for citizenship until time had obliterated his active interest in the motherland from which he came, and, second, that any member of the Roman Catholic Church was unfitted for citizenship as being obedient to an extra-territorial ruler. All through the struggle of nativism for recognition these twin sentiments were associated and seldom clearly differentiated. In every State it was ostensibly hostile to aliens, and, except for the lower Mississippi Valley, it was frankly anti-Catholic.

Through the efforts of those supporting the nativist movement, memorials were sent to Congress urging a repeal or modification of the naturalization laws and the passage of a law to prevent the introduction of paupers and convicts from foreign countries. A special Congressional committee was then appointed to consider these questions.

It was ascertained that Great Britain was legalizing the deportation of its paupers, many of whom were finding their way into the United States either directly through its ports of entry or indirectly through Canada. Investigations revealed the fact that many immigrants were admitted to almshouses within a very short time after landing, in some instances within a few hours. The committee further learned that persons committed for crimes in Europe were promised amnesty upon emigrating to the United States. In several instances, at least, criminals condemned to life imprisonment were taken directly from the prisons of Germany and deported to America. The practice of deporting criminals to the United States probably continued in a surreptitious way for some considerable time. Congress did not take action in the matter until 1866, when a joint resolution was passed condemning the practice.

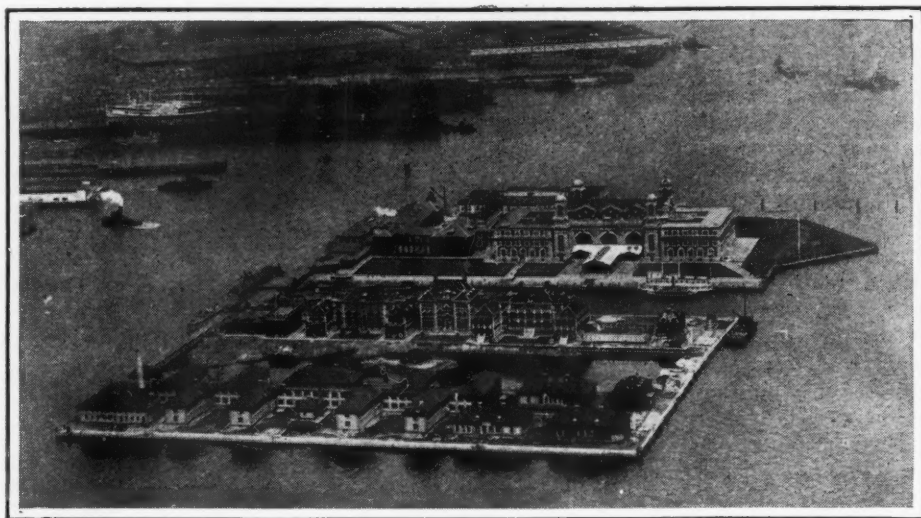
As a result of the committee's findings, a bill was presented to Congress on Feb. 19, 1838. It proposed a fine of \$1,000 or imprisonment from one to three years for any master who took on

board his vessel with the intention of transporting to the United States any alien passenger who was an idiot, a lunatic, afflicted with any incurable disease or convicted of an infamous crime. It further provided that the master should forfeit \$1,000 for any alien brought to the United States who had not the ability to maintain himself. This bill was not even considered. It is interesting to note, however, that the memorial to Congress largely responsible for the appointment of this committee urged the adoption of a system of consular inspection for immigrants.

"KNOW-NOTHING" MOVEMENT

Sentiment against foreigners was revived in the late '40s and the early '50s, when transatlantic steamships brought immigrants to this country in ever-increasing numbers. It was during this period that the so-called "Know-Nothing" movement became most active. Like the earlier nativist movement, it was coupled with anti-Catholic propaganda. By 1854 it had assumed the dignity of a national political party and during the two years immediately following had a minority representation in Congress. The party advocated laws restricting the immigration of paupers and criminals, but by 1858 it had disappeared without securing the enactment of any legislation restricting immigration.

In the early '60s sentiment throughout the States became more liberal and tended strongly toward a policy of unrestricted immigration "in harmony with the spirit of the age." We read in a Congressional document of the time: "Let us throw open wide the doors of this Republic and invite the oppressed, the earnest and honest people of all nations to come." Memorials from State Legislatures encouraged immigration, and naturalization laws were made more favorable. In 1864 a bill was passed sanctioning the importation of "contract labor." It provided for the appointment of a Commissioner of Immigration in New York to arrange for the transportation and care of immi-



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Ellis Island, New York, as seen from an airplane

grants until they reached their final destinations, and also made preparations for the appointment of special agents in European countries to promote and assist immigration. However, this movement subsided with the increasing volume of immigration and in 1868 the act of 1864 was repealed. With it public sentiment gradually became more and more crystallized in its demand for the inauguration of restrictive measures.

A few years later, in 1874, an investigation conducted by the Department of State proved that foreign officials were deporting convicts, paupers, idiots, insane and others incapable of self-support. In Berlin a society had been organized by Jews for the purpose of sending their poor to this country. England was planning to send a group of boys from its largest reformatory. The Canton of Argovie, Switzerland, was found guilty of deporting paupers and destitute persons to the United States. The Liverpool Select Vestry had deported destitute children and also certain persons who were released from an unexpired term of imprisonment to which they had been sent for criminal offenses. Not only these countries, but

Italy, Denmark, Cuba and Greece were sending destitute persons, thus shifting the burden and expense of their care to communities in the United States. Congress protested against such acts, requested that copies of the protest be distributed in foreign countries, and restrictive legislation was proposed to exclude convicts or confirmed vagabonds, those unable to earn their own support, and those aided in transportation to this country. It advocated the imposition of a suitable fine on steamships for bringing such cases; proposed that vessels bringing them should convey them away, and recommended a heavy penalty for every such person landed. In spite of this agitation no Federal restrictive measures were enacted. The control of immigration was still left entirely to the jurisdiction of the separate States.

The problem, however, was fast growing beyond the control of the States, and frequent requests were made for national aid of some sort. It eventually came in 1876, when, by a decision of the Supreme Court, all State laws relating to immigration were declared unconstitutional and the authority for its regulation declared vested in the Federal Government alone. This left

suspended the means by which the separate States could care for the thousands of physically and mentally disabled immigrants who came to their shores. Formerly the States had collected a head tax from each new arrival, the proceeds of which had gone to maintain those needing care within five years after their arrival. Urgent requests were now sent the National Government to support the work that had been carried on by the States, which now found themselves without the means of providing suitable inspection of immigrants or of caring for the destitute among those admitted, except by taxing their own citizens. In spite of these urgent requests, it was not until 1882, six years after State regulation was declared unconstitutional, that the first Federal immigration law was enacted. It provided for the exclusion of foreign convicts, lunatics, idiots and persons likely to become public charges. In addition, a head tax of 50 cents was imposed upon each alien landing at United States ports. This money was to be used to defray the expenses of regulating immigration. The Secretary of the Treasury was required to administer the provisions of the act and authorized and empowered to enter into a contract with any State board, immigration commission or person for the inspection of arriving aliens.

THE FIRST FEDERAL LAWS

Several defects existed in this first Federal Immigration law. No penalties were imposed for the illegal landing of excludable aliens, and no provisions were made for the temporary care of immigrants. Local agents who conducted inspections and examinations were appointed by their State Governments, but they were neither paid by the States nor out of the Federal immigration fund. These defects were not corrected until 1891, when a new law was enacted which became effective on April 1 of that year. Whereas the law of 1882 had excluded idiots and insane persons, this new law was more comprehensive. It debarred idiots, insane persons, those insane within three years

of the date of application for admission, those having had two or more previous attacks of insanity, those suffering from a loathsome or dangerous contagious disease, polygamists, felons, and those who have been convicted of crimes involving moral turpitude. Penalties were imposed upon persons bringing aliens not lawfully entitled to enter. Medical examination at ports of arrival were henceforth to be conducted by officers of the United States Public Health and Marine Hospital Service. A notable feature of this law was that transportation companies were required to return all persons coming unlawfully and, in addition, to return those who became public charges within one year after landing. It also prohibited common carriers from soliciting emigration, except by ordinary advertisements.

This law was further elaborated in 1893, when masters of vessels were required to give more detailed reports of each passenger. In 1894 the head tax was raised from 50 cents to \$1, and provision made for the President, with the advice and consent of the Senate, to appoint Immigration Commissioners for a period of four years. In the second session of the Fifty-third Congress a bill was introduced proposing a system of consular inspection abroad. The State Department, however, thought that the obtaining of a certificate from the nearest United States Consul based upon investigations of the latter would not be practicable, and the Treasury Department thought that such a system would only lead to international complications, cause a dual administration of the immigration law, and finally retard immigration. Later, in 1895, an act was passed providing for a Commissioner General of Immigration.

The following year saw a Congressional report emphasizing the distinct change in the type of immigrants coming to the United States and recommending the exclusion of all aliens who were unable to read or write. A comparison of the relative number of criminals and paupers among the native-born and the foreign-born indicated

that the foreign-born contributed more than half of the total number of each group. A literacy test was recommended as a means of excluding that class of immigrant which investigation had shown contributed most heavily to pauperism, crime and juvenile delinquency. The basis of this recommendation was derived from reports received from twenty-six States of the Union.

It was not until March 3, 1903, that Congress changed the immigration act, increasing the period of possible deportation of those insane within five years after landing and adding professional beggars and anarchists to those already excludable. It will thus be seen that during the first twenty-one years of Federal control of immigration, Congress saw fit to change or modify the immigration laws on several different occasions, each change or modification being for the purpose of better excluding the socially misfit.

THE ACTS OF 1907 AND 1917

None of the laws previously enacted having proved entirely satisfactory to skim the dross sent from European States, a more comprehensive immigration act was passed in 1907, repealing the laws of 1903 and all previous acts. Stricter measures were taken to prevent the importation of undesirables and the head tax was increased to \$4, the proceeds to constitute a fund for defraying the expenses of regulating immigration. Even this law was not adequate, however, for the problem of immigration was becoming more and more a problem of great national importance. In 1911 the United States Immigration Commission was appointed. It made an intensive study of immigration and published a report that was not only voluminous and illuminating, but which remains one of the most important official documents dealing with the migration of peoples. In February, 1917, largely resulting from the work of this commission, the act of 1907 was broadened in scope. The new law made more far-reaching provisions for the deportation of those having been

sentenced to terms of imprisonment for crimes involving moral turpitude, and those becoming public charges within five years after landing. It excluded the insane, idiots, imbeciles, feeble-minded, chronic alcoholics, constitutional psychopathic inferiors, the mentally defective whose defect would affect the ability to earn a living, and others with loathsome or dangerous contagious diseases. The head tax was increased to \$8, and all aliens over 16 years of age were required to have a reading knowledge of some language.

During the World War, agitation developed for definitely limiting immigration to the United States. This sentiment became even more general after the cessation of hostilities. Finally the House of Representatives passed a bill for the temporary suspension of all immigration. The Senate amended this by substituting the so-called "per centum limit plan of restriction." This prevailed, though it failed to become a law until introduced again at the succeeding Sixty-seventh Congress. This plan, which went into effect on May 19, 1921, limited the quota of each country to 3 per cent. of its nationals living in the United States in 1910. It expired by limitation on June 30, 1922, but under a joint resolution approved May 11, 1922, its operation was extended to June 30, 1924. Except for these changes the act of 1917 was still in force.

In the progressive development of these laws dealing with immigration to the United States it is evident that a unity of opinion has existed for skimming the dross from the peoples of Europe who seek admission to our country. This unity of opinion has been a continuous feature in measures adopted first by the Colonies, then by the several States, and finally by the Federal Government. All legislation has been fostered by an insistent demand on the part of the public for the exclusion of the mentally and socially misfit. Regardless of the sincere effort to exclude this class, as evidenced by the gradual improvement in legislation, mentally disordered persons, criminals and de-

pendents still continued to seek admission. Attempts were made to exclude these undesirable aliens in two ways—by examinations at the port of arrival and by imposing penalties upon common carriers. Nevertheless, only partial success had been achieved in exclusion measures, for no machinery had been developed to exclude those potential misfits or doubtful cases who possess latent qualities for injury to the community or national welfare.

EXAMINATION OF IMMIGRANTS

The mental and physical examinations of arriving alien passengers have been conducted by officers of the United States Public Health Service since 1892. Those who have had especial training in the diagnosis of mental diseases or defects are assigned at each port of entry. The only knowledge available to the medical officer regarding an alien is that furnished upon the ship's manifest. This manifest, or the ship's passenger list, which is pink for first cabin, yellow for second cabin and white for steerage or third class passengers, is verified by the oath and signature of the master or first officer of the ship. Such affirmation or oath attests that the ship's surgeon has been required to make a physical and mental examination of each alien passenger and that, from personal investigation, no alien excludable by law from the United States has embarked. In the event that changes develop in the alien's condition during the voyage a record of such changes must appear upon the manifest.

In addition to restrictive measures embodied in the examination of aliens at ports of entry, the act of 1917 provided that it was unlawful for transportation companies other than railway lines entering this country to transport any person who might come within any of the excludable groups. Common carriers transporting a mandatorily excludable alien whose disability could have been detected by means of a competent medical examination abroad

"shall pay the sum of \$200 and a sum equal to that paid by the alien for his transportation from the initial point of departure." The latter sum was returned to the immigrant. Moreover, a fine of \$25 was imposed upon transportation companies bringing any person with a mental or physical defect other than those already named, which may affect the alien's ability to earn a living, provided that such mental or physical defect might have been detected by means of competent medical examination before embarkation. The imposition of these penalties has acted as a deterrent upon transportation companies accepting passengers who are obviously suffering from physical or mental defects. An idea of the situation abroad in regard to this feature of examination may be gathered from the report of Assistant Surgeon General J. W. Kerr of the United States Public Health Service, who accompanied the Commissioner General of Immigration during a tour of the principal ports of embarkation in 1920:

On the whole, the examinations witnessed may be said to be generally thorough as relates to trachoma and fairly so as relates to favus [a contagious disease of the scalp]. This is undoubtedly due to the special care taken for years in respect to these diseases at United States and Canadian ports of arrival and to the former rigid enforcement of the immigration law relating to deportations. In a few ports examinations for active manifestations of venereal diseases were carefully made. In a few ports more or less general attention was paid to diseases affecting ability to earn a living. At none of the ports were special tests made to detect mental defect. * * *

There is special need, therefore, of standardizing and improving various aspects of the medical examinations as conducted abroad by steamship companies.

The necessity for improvement in these examinations abroad was recognized by the Sixty-eighth Congress, for on May 26, 1924, the new immigration law imposed greater penalties upon common carriers for bringing excludable aliens to this country. This law provided for a penalty of \$1,000 upon common carriers for bringing aliens with excludable diseases that could have been detected by a competent medical examination at the time of embarkation. In addition, it imposed a penalty

involving a sum equal to that paid by such excludable aliens for transportation from the initial point of departure indicated in their tickets. Both fines are paid to the Collector of Customs, the latter sum being paid to the immigrant. The excludable group comprise "any alien afflicted with idiocy, insanity, imbecility, feeble-mindedness, epilepsy, constitutional psychopathic inferiority, chronic alcoholism, tuberculosis in any form, or a loathsome or dangerous contagious disease."

FOREIGN-BORN INSANE

Such a plan entails no special hardship upon common carriers. The expense they formerly assumed in caring for aliens held for examination and inquiry or deported becomes unnecessary. The latter expense is probably greater than the cost of inaugurating and maintaining their own selective system. It is likely that a considerable saving will eventually accrue to the credit of steamship companies by establishing an adequate system of medical inspection and examination of passengers before embarkation.

Any scheme for the better selection of immigrants abroad must consider that probationary period through which an alien passes before becoming a citizen of the United States. This is the usual five-year period after landing. During the first five years of residence in this country a certain proportion of unselected immigrants develop mental disorders or become public charges. The enormous number of foreign-born insane and defectives now being cared for at public expense indicates that some means must be adopted to stem the tide of these and other asocial units. This may be done by requiring transportation companies to support all aliens whom they may henceforth transport who become public charges within five years after landing. The costs of such support should include the transportation of each deportee to his original home and the furnishing of an attendant when necessary. Obligations of this na-

ture, if imposed upon common carriers, would result in refusing transportation to persons regarding whom a reasonable doubt existed as to their capacity for making an adequate social adjustment in this country. However, the penalties imposed by the new Immigration law will tend to deter transportation companies from accepting passengers in whom a reasonable doubt exists as to their mental or social adaptability.

Another feature of the new Immigration law provides for definitely limiting the immigration to this country. It fixes the yearly quota of any nationality to 2 per cent. of the nationals living in the United States in 1890. After 1927, however, the yearly quota of any nationality is based upon the population statistics of 1920 in relation to the yearly quota for 1924, which is 150,000. The country, therefore, enters a new period of national consciousness, for Congress announced to the world that America was no longer an asylum for the oppressed and does not open its doors to "the earnest and honest people of all nations." The exclusion of Japanese has been so much before the public that reference to this aspect of the new Immigration act is unnecessary.

The new law also provides for a system of consular visas for immigrants and issues such visas in keeping with the quota of each nationality. The granting of a consular immigration visa does not permit an alien entry to the United States, if he is an otherwise inadmissible person. The immigration visa contains information regarding the intending immigrant, including his age, sex, race, date and place of birth, his residence during the five years immediately preceding his application, a personal description, his ability to speak, read and write, and other pertinent data. Consular visas are issued in duplicate and are of two kinds: Those for "quota" immigrants and those for "non-quota" immigrants, the act specifically defining both classes. Thus, the proposal for a system of consular inspection, first advocated in 1838, has finally become a reality.

Negro Migration to the North

By ABRAM L. HARRIS Jr.

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IT has been said that "successful races drift before hunger, adverse climatic changes, disease or persecution, like prairie cattle before a storm. Just as the animal herd heads toward the water holes and the new grass, so men follow the hope of gold, work and freedom; and wherever they migrate, profound economic, social and political changes are resultant." Although this generalization was specifically evoked by the negro exodus from the South its universal significance when applied to movements in human populations is obvious. Students of the exodus of negroes from the rural South have, however, persistently and possibly unconsciously overlooked the normal social forces at work in the negro migrations, the forces making for urbanization of the negro as of the population at large.

A study of the shift in American population from the rural to the urban sections reveals that the urbanization of the negro population, although beginning relatively late, is primarily and fundamentally the result of the growth of machine industry, and of the lack of economic freedom and the non-assurance of a margin of subsistence under the one-crop share system of the agricultural South. These economic or social factors have been expressed by periodic movements since the Civil War. In the late sixties a Westward movement of negroes to Louisiana, Arkansas and Texas from South Carolina, Georgia and Alabama occurred. Following the depression in the lower Mississippi River Valley in 1879 about 60,000 negroes migrated. Then in 1888-89 there was a movement to the unexplored and fertile fields of Arkansas and Texas

from Alabama, estimated to have reached 35,000 in number. The advent of the boll weevil and its ultimate destruction of crops precipitated another movement of colored farmers in 1908-9 to the cane fields of Louisiana.

Although in the last decade Northern industrial communities have had great accessions in negro population through migrations from the South, it should not be forgotten that Southern cities have likewise had increases. This feature of the negro population movement attracted Professor J. R. Commons's attention as early as 1900 and has also been investigated by certain negro students of sociology. "In the Southern States," according to Professor Commons, "the proportion of the colored population was almost exactly in 1890 as it had been in 1860—namely, 36 per cent.; yet in sixteen cities of those States (as shown by Mr. Hoffman) the proportion of colored population increased from 19 per cent. in 1860 to 29 per cent. in 1890."

As consequences of the industrial revolution in England in the eighteenth century agricultural predominance gave way to manufacturing; the factory system arose and densely populated cities sprang into existence, as displaced craftsmen and tenant farmers fled from the rural sections in pursuit of work. The mechanical revolution came later in the United States than in England. Here, as Professor C. A. Beard points out, "the revolution of economic fact followed that of political theory. When the former occurred an immense amount of property which had hitherto existed only as a minor element in economic life—namely, industrial and mercantile capital—was created. So rapidly did

this new form of property accumulate that even in the United States by the middle of the nineteenth century it exceeded the value of agricultural land of the country. As land was the great disturber of the old order, so capital became the great disturber of the new. Like a mighty giant tossing to and fro in a fever, in its quest for profits it tore masses of men from the land, from their sleepy villages and hamlets and hurled them here and there." ("The Economic Basis of Politics.") Thus, at the birth of the American Nation one hundred and thirty years ago, its largest city had not more than 43,000 inhabitants and only one person out of thirty lived in the six towns of 8,000 or more inhabitants. In 1800 there were in the United States only six cities whose population was over 8,000; and these contained only 4 per cent. of the population of the entire country. In 1900 there were 547 such cities which at this time contained 32.9 per cent. of the country's population. But in 1920 the number of such cities had increased to 924 and contained 43.8 per cent. of the total population. Today nearly one half of the American population lives in places of over 2,500 inhabitants, a tenth in villages and hardly more than two-fifths in the open country.

In 1880, only 28.6 per cent. of the American population lived in sections that could be called urban, while 71.4 per cent. lived in the rural sections. But, according to the 1920 census report, 51.4 per cent. of the total population lived in urban communities, while the number living in rural districts had decreased to 48.6 per cent. The growth of large scale production between 1850 and 1915 seems to indicate that this shift in population was complementary to the country's technological development. The negro population has reacted to the industrialization of modern society in a manner quite similar to the rest of the population. That the reaction came later in the life of negro people than in the white is attributable to the former's status under the slave régime, which prevented their free and

early movement and their consignment to the scarcely mitigated serfdom of the rural South upon the dissolution of the slave system.

About 1892, when the boll weevil entered the United States from Mexico via Texas, little was it thought that this beetle would spread havoc throughout the entire cotton district with the exception of the Carolinas and Virginia. Its ravages continued to extend at the rate of 40 to 160 miles annually, sometimes damaging 50 per cent. of the crop, estimated at 400,000 bales per year. The periodic destruction of crops by floods in the lower black belt, as well as the ravages of the boll weevil, led the more far-seeing to prepare for the disintegration of the feudal share system of the agricultural South. Crop rotation and modern methods of farming were introduced by some of the more progressive planters. This introduction of new methods in farming, which necessitated the use of labor-saving machinery, meant a consequent displacement of many "one - plow-and - a - mule" negro farmers. In many instances bankers hesitated to finance these new methods of farming where they depended upon the untrained negro for field work. Consequently, in many localities, e. g., East Mississippi, the negro was actually advised by white neighbors to leave the section and in instances was aided in leaving.

The life of the Southern negro has not been the only reflection of the economy of Southern industrial society. The poor whites, because of their inability to compete successfully with wealthier land owners in securing good lands, have receded to the poorer hill districts and the exhausted plains. Whereas the negro tenants occupy the fertile Yazoo-Mississippi delta region under the suzerainty of white planters, the poor whites are found in the relatively sterile "hills." Evidence of this recession of poor whites to the hills because of decades of unequal competition between upper class and lower class Southern whites is to be found in the colonies of native white stock—as primi-

tive as the early frontiersmen—pocketed between the slopes of the Southern Appalachians.

LACK OF SOUTHERN CAPITAL

Further analysis of Southern economy reveals the inability of the agricultural system to support the Southern population. Professor F. S. Chapin voices what he takes to be the prevailing opinion when he states that the most important injury the South sustained from slavery was the checking of accumulated capital and the dependence of the South upon the North for capital. Manufacturing has, therefore, failed to develop in proportion to agriculture because of a lack of capital to underwrite it. Thus a backward and frontier organization of society has been perpetuated. A comparison of the amount of rural territory in the agricultural South and the manufacturing North validates Professor Chapin's interpretation and indicates the cause of the general poverty of the Southern economic order. The combined States of Indiana, Illinois, Michigan and Wisconsin are only 39.2 per cent. rural; New England, 20.8 per cent., and the Pacific States 37.6 per cent. On the other hand, North Carolina is 80.8 per cent. rural; South Carolina, 82.5 per cent.; Georgia, 74.9 per cent.; Alabama, 78.3 per cent.; Mississippi, 88.6 per cent.; Louisiana, 65.1 per cent.; Texas, 67.6 per cent. Thus the Southern States are seen to be far more rural than any section in the country. Again, with reference to per capita wealth, the Southern States fall below the average per capita of the whole country, which in 1920 was \$236. In Ohio, Indiana, Illinois and Michigan the average was \$331; in the Pacific States \$231, and in the New England States \$436, but in North Carolina the average per capita wealth was \$160; South Carolina \$91, Georgia \$81, Alabama \$81, Mississippi \$56, Louisiana \$136, Texas \$64. Referring to the Southern negro particularly, the average annual income of a rural negro family in Georgia is \$290.

Despite the steady natural increase in

the negro farm population for three decades the proportion of negro tenants has been increasing, whereas the percentage of owners has shown a corresponding decrease. According to the 1920 census, only two out of every 100 negro farmers in the South were farm owners, and in the densest area of the negro population the smallest land ownership existed.

The checking of the accumulation of new capital accounts for the tenacious grip share-cropping has upon the South. The results of the system are: (1) The concentration of farming energy on the production of the single cotton crop; (2) the expenditure of enormous sums of money in manufacturing sections for household commodities, manufactured goods and fertilizer, and in stock-raising sections for meat and live stock; (3) the necessity of maintaining many hands for cotton cultivation, which because of the overproduction on the up-curve of the business cycle gluts the market, thus bringing small financial returns to the cotton growers; (4) a surfeit of labor forced into seasonal idleness by the periodic nature of cotton production, and (5) the advancement of wages in kind and in money by the planter to his idle employes in order to maintain them for future cotton raising.

One writer, A. G. Smith, a Southern farmer, has gone so far as to advise a yearly migration of at least 100,000 white workers from the South for the next twenty years. Whether this advice is sound or not, the census figures show that white Southerners have left their respective native States in greater proportions than negroes. In 1910 only 15 per cent. of the negroes born in the South were living in some State other than that of their birth, but the white Southerners who resided outside the State in which they were born numbered 20.7 per cent. For 1920 the proportion of such negroes was 18.9 per cent., against 21.3 per cent. for the Southern whites. In the country as a whole the percentage of persons residing outside their native States was 22.4 per cent. for the native white population and 16.6



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Outside Liberty Hall, 138th Street, New York City, during a convention of the Universal Negro Improvement Association

per cent. for native negroes. In 1900 the respective percentages were 22 for the white and 14.8 for the negro. From this viewpoint, what we are prone to isolate as being essentially a negro movement is merely a part of a greater shift in that part of the American population which thinks its fortunes lie in some State other than that of nativity, or in the land of manufacturing enterprise.

AN URBAN MOVEMENT

In order to escape the rigors of the Southern social order, both negroes and whites have migrated. But, according to Monroe Work, editor of the *Negro Year Book*, the so-called migration to the North is a part of the movement of negroes to the cities in both the North and the South. Mr. Work points out that the increase of negro urban population in the South during 1910-20 was 396,444, or 56,000 more than the increase during the same period in the number of negroes in the North from

the South, which was 340,260. Although Mr. Work's conclusion is sound, his analysis does not include the number of negroes who migrated during 1922-23. What proportion of the estimated 474,700 negroes who migrated to the North in the past two years went by way of Southern cities or directly from the farming sections must remain a matter for speculation until disclosed by a more intensive study. Nevertheless, the report of the United States Department of Labor concerning the increases of skilled negro workers in Northern industry during 1922-23 seems to indicate that many of them formerly resided in Southern cities, where they learned some trade or followed semi-skilled occupations. The reports show the following increases of skilled negro workers in various States during 1922-23: Maryland, 186.86 per cent.; Connecticut, 90.48 per cent.; Michigan, 70.73 per cent.; Ohio, 68.04 per cent.; Kansas, 68.97 per cent.; California, 60 per

cent.; Pennsylvania, 43.68 per cent.; New York, 39.44 per cent.; Indiana, 18.18 per cent.; New Jersey, 12.96 per cent. On the other hand, Kentucky, a Southern State, shows a decrease of 1.82 per cent. in skilled negro workers during the same period.

Because of the absence of a balance between agricultural production and mechanical processes, the urban South has been unable to assimilate the growing increments of labor thrown off by the farms. Failure to obtain work in Southern cities, or the payment of relatively low wages in places where work was to be had, meant that upon the occurrence of a labor shortage in the North in 1916-18, when thousands of foreigners forsook American industries to join their brothers in arms, or in 1922-23, when the foreign labor market was cut off by the immigration law after the recovery from the business depression, the negro readily responded to the call of Northern industries. The negro realized that he thereby simultaneously secured for himself a surer economic position and advanced a step toward social well-being. It is probable that immigration restrictions and further changes in American industrial technology will make for a greater use of negro labor in the future. Employers have expressed a keen desire for labor which they believe is not as susceptible to economic radicalism as is white labor.

The movement of the negro to the North is not to the whole section, but to

a few main industrial districts. It is a striking fact that 73.4 per cent., or 1,139,505, of the negro population of the North, is living in ten industrial districts estimated as follows:

Indianapolis District.....	47,550
Detroit-Toledo District.....	55,918
Cleveland-Youngstown District...	58,850
Kansas City District.....	65,393
Pittsburgh District.....	88,273
Columbus-Cincinnati District.....	89,651
St. Louis District.....	102,607
Chicago District.....	131,580
Philadelphia District.....	248,343
New York District.....	251,340

Total.....1,139,505

The tendency of the migrant to cluster about a few industrial centres, as shown by these figures, leads to a series of housing, health, crime, vice and delinquency problems, and at the same time creates new inter-racial suspicions and antipathies, which socially minded persons and students are forced to find means of allaying. Perhaps the recent movement of certain Northern industrial concerns into the thinly populated outlying districts, access to which is facilitated by improved communications, will tend to decentralize the negro population in the congested areas.

Whether the migration of the negro be studied scientifically or regarded from the standpoint of social prejudice, it must at all times be remembered that the underlying causes are economic and specifically those connected with the growth of large-scale machine production. For that reason the movement must not be considered as exclusively racial.



Dangers of Federalized Education

By JAMES H. RYAN, Ph. D.

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THE Sixty-seventh Congress witnessed the introduction of over eighty education bills. The controlling purpose of the majority of these bills was to increase Federal aid and thereby Federal supervision of education. At the present moment more than forty educational measures are before Congress. Many of these are of little or no general significance, having to do with matters properly within the province and under the supervision of Congress. There are, however, a dozen or so bills of major importance any one of which would, should it become law, but solder anew and more firmly the chains of Federal control which were first forged by the Agricultural and Vocational Education acts of 1914 and 1917.

The most important of the education measures upon which the present Congress is expected to act is the Sterling-Reed bill. This bill was introduced in the Sixty-fifth Congress by former Senator Smith of Georgia, hence its original name, the Smith bill. It was reintroduced in the Sixty-sixth Congress and called the Smith-Towner bill. Failing of passage, it was brought before the Sixty-seventh Congress by Representative Towner and Senator Sterling and became known as the Towner-Sterling bill. In the Sixty-eighth Congress it was again introduced by Senator Sterling in the Senate and by Representative Reed in the House, and is now referred to as the Sterling-Reed bill.

The Sterling-Reed bill, in the view of many, would nationalize the school, despite a proviso inserted in the bill which states that "this act shall not be construed to imply Federal control of education within the States." If the Federal Government appropriates \$100,-

000,000 annually for the encouragement of education in the States, can any one imagine that the Government would not insist on controlling the manner in which such vast sums should be spent? If Congress votes funds to the States for educational purposes, every principle of good sense demands that it likewise formulate the policies which must be followed by the States in order to obtain these appropriations. Both the Smith-Lever and Smith-Hughes acts are concrete examples of what Federal subsidies for education inevitably lead to, since, as every educator knows, the power of the National Government in the fields of agriculture and vocational education is so great as to amount to virtual control.

The term nationalization has an unsavory connotation; it conjures up in the popular mind implications of a social and economic nature which we associate ordinarily with the governmental experiments of extremists. The nationalization of mines, of the railroads, of the home are familiar examples; these, however, are such radical ventures in government that in rejecting them a great deal of odium has become attached to the phrase itself. An education policy which comes before us in the name of nationalization cannot expect a very favorable audience. Because of this prejudice, therefore, we hear but little about the nationalization of the school, although this aim is being defended by an increasing number of thinkers and is the theme of widespread propaganda. The advocates of the nationalized school are quick to repudiate the usual associations of the term, while maintaining intact the purposes which it covers. They speak ordinarily of the national significance of education, or

allude to the school as a national problem, and urge nationalization as a measure of educational reorganization. In place of a system of State schools, these reformers advocate that the nation assume control of education and conduct our educational establishments from Washington. The schools thus would be nationalized in fact, but without use of this obnoxious word.

Any discussion of the place of education in a democracy must, to be constructive, begin with a precise definition of the terms involved. One can readily acknowledge that the school is a subject of national significance, that the future of the nation depends to a large degree upon the kind and extent of education which our children shall receive, without at the same time accepting the philosophy which insists that such objectives can only be obtained adequately if we are willing to place the school under Federal control.

Few words are exposed to more widely varying connotations than the term "national." It may possess any one of countless significations, each differing widely from the other. Thus "national" may signify anything which is found throughout the nation; in this sense, a certain brand of soap or Pullman sleeping cars may be described as national; in the same sense the school is a national institution. National may also mean that which pertains in a particular fashion to the National Government, as the Army or the Post Office. Viewed from this angle, the school is most certainly not national. Moreover, we may call a thing national which promotes a national spirit, outlook or viewpoint. Few will question that the school is national in this last meaning of the term, for by its use of one language, its insistence upon a minimum of mental training for all the children of the nation, its teaching of those things which will prepare the children of today to assume tomorrow the duties and responsibilities of an intelligent citizenship, it lays the foundation for a universal understanding of the principles upon which our national well-being has been con-

structed, and toward the maintenance of which knowledge is one of the accepted prerequisites.

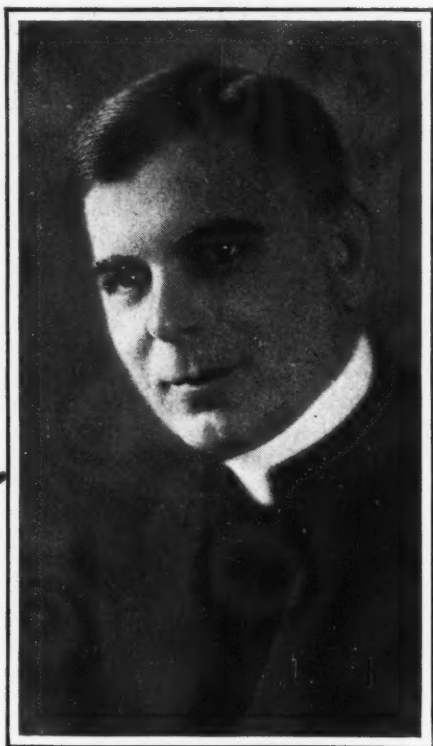
NATIONALIZATION DEFINED

It is one thing to say that the school is national; it is quite another to contend that education must be nationalized. It is at this point that the weakness of the position of the advocates of the nationalist philosophy becomes evident. To argue from the national significance or nation-wide extent of a product or a process to its nationalization is unsound logic. Policemen are found throughout the country and are, therefore, of national significance, as far as the preservation of the public order is concerned. The same may be said of courts, transportation companies, local health agencies and many other institutions and agencies of social and commercial life. No political thinker, outside communistic circles, would argue from this to the nationalization of our police courts, banks or boards of health simply because they function in the long run for the benefit of the people as a whole. In the field of education illiteracy is much more than a local problem, but it scarcely follows from this admission that the only way, or even the correct way, to wipe out ignorance is to call upon the Federal Government to assume control of the local agencies which are fighting against illiteracy. Whether the belief in the need of a nationalized education is the result of a definite philosophy of government or merely the conclusion from a false understanding of terms, many people fail completely to perceive that the nationalization of education entails a complete overthrow of our traditional attitude toward the school. No doubt they would be chagrined if one were to call their plan socialistic. An unbiased examination of the trend toward federalized education cannot but convince the student that in tendency, at least, the movement is socialistic, if pursued along certain lines, and autocratic and tyrannical if it should develop along other lines.

Nationalism is a good thing in itself. That it can be, that it has been, carried to extremes no one acquainted with the recent history of Europe may doubt. There are dangers to democracy in a perverted nationalism, no less than in an exaggerated internationalism. We in the United States have been able to steer safely between the two extremes. Powerful forces are drawing us in both directions, however, and no man can predict with assurance which, if either, road the nation shall eventually take. The significant aspect of these widespread movements in favor of nationalism and internationalism is that the leaders place emphasis upon the general problems of society and the need of a general solution of the same, and view with contempt the elements of local control and initiative, which latter we have always looked upon as the very heart of our democratic beliefs. Many people accept the doctrine of centralization for the simple reason that it is centralization. To them the Federal Government appears to be possessed of some magic virtue by which everything it touches turns to gold. Such blind faith in the power of government to settle all questions satisfactorily is incredibly childish. The Government does many things well, but it also does many things badly; witness the leasing of the naval oil reserves and the conduct of the Veterans' Bureau. So far from it being certain that Washington must be successful if it took over the management of the schools of the country, the record of Congress, in so far as it has proffered aid and assumed a certain amount of control over education, leads to the conclusion that much is not to be expected from Federal interference with the school policies of the different States.

OPPOSITION GROWS STEADILY

Those who believe in federalization for its own sake will hardly be convinced of the perils to education from a recital of the hazards involved in Government control of the schools.



THE REV. JAMES H. RYAN

There exists, however, a strong public opinion, and it is growing stronger every day, which views the continued usurpations by the Federal Government of the rights and duties of the individual States as a direct menace to the perpetuation of that correct balance which must exist between the functions of each if the constitutional form of government under which we live is to be preserved in its entirety and pristine vigor. Nor is the fear of Federal aggression confined to those who might be expected to discover traces of it everywhere—the Governors and Legislatures of the several States. The late President Harding, in what was considered his most forcible speech, delivered at the Plymouth Centenary, said: "The one outstanding danger of today is the tendency to turn to Washington for the things which are the tasks or the duties of the forty-eight Commonwealths which constitute the State." President Coolidge

has taken the same position, both in his first message to Congress and in recent speeches. The constitutional history of the United States has been marked by the gradual but definite extension of the powers of the central Government. This development has reached such a pass that well-grounded fears are expressed on all sides for the continuance of anything like an effective system of States' rights. Congress has appealed again and again to the general welfare and commerce clauses of the Constitution to justify a whole series of enactments by which it has obtained more and more control over the functions of the States, especially in the social and economic fields. As a result of these encroachments the influence of Congress is already very large, if not predominant, in the regulation of public morals, the promotion of public health, the control of transportation, business corporations, and even labor. It has already branched out into the field of public education, since the Smith-Lever and Smith-Hughes acts bestow upon the Federal Government a directive influence on the course of agricultural and vocational education throughout the nation.

The Sterling-Reed bill, now before Congress, represents another step forward in the nationalization of the school. Under the guise of cooperating with the States, this bill would establish a Federal Department of Education, with a Secretary in the President's Cabinet, appropriate \$100,000,000 annually for education on condition that the States appropriate an equal amount, and thereby put under Federal control the educational systems of the States. It is unthinkable that Congress would vote \$100,000,000 annually for the development of public education without assuming, at the same time, a large measure of control over the schools to which such vast sums are given. To suppose otherwise would be to convict the Government of gross stupidity, no less than disregard of the most elementary principles of business prudence.

Control of education is not one of the

powers which has been bestowed by the Constitution on the Federal Government. On the contrary, this control is vested in the several States. Historically, education has always been a matter for local control and encouragement. The natural and inevitable results of national "encouragement" of education would be national standards for the schools, national courses of study, national educational methods—in a word, national conformity, which would finally paralyze local initiative and impose upon every community a set of rigid standards wholly unadaptable to local needs and conditions.

Moreover, it is pure conjecture to assume that if we possessed a Federal Department of education we would automatically have good schools.

EDUCATION'S GREATEST NEED

What education needs in the United States is not Federal control but better State control. The fact that some States have been negligent in providing adequately for their schools is no reason for asking the central Government to take over these educational systems. The backward States may be stimulated to greater effort by Federal grants, but one may well question whether in the last analysis it would not be better for these States to work out their own problems rather than depend upon the central Government, which, if it appropriates money, must demand in return that the States accept the system of more or less inflexible educational standards which the Federal organization will set up. Many of the European countries subsidize education, it is true, but they also control education. France and Prussia are concrete examples of what a State-subsidized and State-controlled system of schools leads to.

The State of Oregon, which has given to the world the exotic U'ren, and the no less exotic experiments in Government which he has fathered, has recently voted a compulsory public school attendance law, according to which, after Jan. 1, 1926, every child in the State between the ages of 8 and 16

must attend the public school. Such legislation presents the theory of the nationalized school in full actuality, consecrating by law the doctrine that the child is the ward of the State. Fortunately, the Oregon law has been looked upon quite generally among educators as extreme and has been repudiated even by those who hold most firmly to the doctrine of Federalized education. So un-American is the Oregon law, so contrary to all the practices of the various States toward the private school, so fraught with possible dangers to the cause of higher education, which is conducted for the most part under private and religious auspices, that the nationalist group lost no time in condemning the absurd lengths to which the people of that Commonwealth had gone to put their educational philosophy into every-day legislation. The State of Oregon has been abused for many things in the past; for nothing, however, has it been so roundly denounced as for the passage of the now famous Compulsory Education law. "Fancy, if you can," writes Nicholas Murray Butler, "what the future historian will say of the people of the State of Oregon who, one hundred and thirty years after the adoption of the Constitution, with its Bill of Rights, enact by popular vote a statute which makes elementary education a Government monopoly." Fortunately, the Judges of our Federal courts declared the compulsory public school attendance measure unconstitutional—a decision that settles for all time the question to whom the child belongs. He is not a "national child," neither has the Federal Government nor any individual State the right, under the Constitution, to nationalize the school to such an extent that all private initiative in education must be done away with. This one good effect, at least, has followed in the wake of the temporary insanity which swept over the voters of Oregon in the Fall of 1921. The battle for the child need not be fought over again in the United States. The issue has been decided and the decision is against the nationalized school.

The extremes to which some professional educators are willing to go in their efforts to subordinate education to a narrowly nationalistic program may be illustrated further by the measures advocated by the well-known Professor Spaulding of Yale. According to his plan for educating the nation, "the training of young men for civic responsibility and vocational efficiency should culminate in a full twelve-month year of instruction, discipline and training to be carried on directly under the auspices of the National Government." Annually more than 1,000,000 young men between the ages of 17 and 21 would be compelled to receive instruction from the Government, the emphasis being placed upon physical and military education. As a matter of fact the military would naturally predominate, since "the immediate control of the student body should be exercised by a military staff under the War Department." Prussia in its worst militaristic moments never advocated anything quite so destructive of individual freedom and pregnant with such fatal consequences for democratic institutions as the Spaulding plan. This program was put forward as an answer to the economic and social problems resultant on the World War. Yet if the war held any revelation for the student of education, it was assuredly the lesson of the need of decentralization of educational control. All students of modern Germany are agreed that no one factor is more responsible for the downfall of the empire than the bureaucratic system of education, which, since the days of Frederick I., has throttled all initiative and made of the school a mere machine for grinding out soldiers. To find, therefore, a leading educator advocating the adoption by the United States of the discredited Prussian system of education can but strike the beholder as another example of that intellectual blindness which seems to afflict so many thinkers today.

STATESMEN'S ALLUSION

One of the great illusions which have troubled the minds of statesmen since

the days of Sparta is that only in a Government-controlled and Government-conducted system of education can national security and well-being be found. Quite the reverse is the truth. State education, standardized, rigid and bureaucratized as it inevitably must be, has never and, in the very nature of things, cannot produce anything but machine-made citizens. The State school turns out men and women according to a narrowly conceived pattern. Because of its inherent inelasticity and fear of experimentation, the public school finds itself helpless before the infinite complexity of human needs and human endowments. Bertrand Russell, in his usual penetrating fashion, writes that a mechanistic education, such as is given by the modern State, strives to develop a population that is "tame" toward its rulers but "fierce" toward the enemy. Rooted in a perverse conception of nationalism, controlled by politicians, weighed down by the awful load which is imposed upon it by a centrally located bureau thousands of miles away, the wonder is, not that such an educational system produces standardized citizens, but that it could possibly, even by exception, produce anything else.

THE PERILS OF UNIFORMITY

Before the war a great many educators honestly believed the Prussian system of education ideal. This belief persists in certain circles. It finds its latest expression in such proposals as that for a Federal Department of Education and in the Spaulding plan. But it may well be doubted whether federalized education will assist us to any great extent in solving the problems which our American democracy imposes upon the nation. No system of educational practice which emphasizes uniformity to the detriment of liberty and a sane individualism can be successful in the United States. Democracy is a "leav-

ening," but it is not a "leveling." With all its blunderings and mistakes, educational liberty is to be preferred either to the rule of an autocracy, no matter how benign, or of a bureaucracy, no matter how efficient.

The broad principles underlying all the efforts of the nationalist school may be summed up in the thesis that the authority of the State over the child is superior to that of the parent. In this conception the State is viewed as possessing rights which no individual may question, and to the pursuit of which every individual right must be subordinated. Politically, such a philosophy, when carried to the logical extreme, spells autocracy pure and unalloyed. In the realm of education it means the national school, a nationalized curriculum, and nationalized teachers. The parent's rights are no longer regarded as sacred, since, in the supposed interests of this higher person, the State, every father is called upon to waive his rights to direct the training of his own child. The nationalized school thus connotes the nationalized child; the individual's good is swallowed up in the supposed good of the State, to the attainment of which the State must bend every energy, social, economic, educational and religious. The theory of the State as an organism is Hegel's. Bismarck made it a concrete political reality. How any American statesman, much less an educator, with the history of two centuries of educational freedom constantly before his eyes, can behold national security and well-being in such an autocratic ideal may well be an easy problem for the psychologist to solve. For the ordinary man in the street, imbued as he is with the principles of democracy and of personal freedom, the advocacy of Prussianism in education can only be regarded as a strange aberration of the educator's mind, or as deliberate treason to our national ideals.

Child Labor—A Blot on American Civilization

By J. ST. CLAIR KING

IN December, 1906, the first proposals for a Federal law to prevent industrial exploitation of children were made in Congress by Senator Beveridge of Indiana and Congressman Herbert Parsons, who introduced bills to "prevent the employment of children in factories and mines." In addition, Senator Lodge sponsored a measure designed to "prohibit employment of children in the manufacture and production of articles intended for interstate commerce."

Ten years later, on Sept. 1, 1916, the first child labor law was adopted with the provision that it should become operative one year later. Under its power to regulate interstate and foreign commerce Congress sought in this measure to close the gate to products of child labor. Three days before the act went into effect the United States District Attorney in the Western District of North Carolina was enjoined from enforcing it. Federal Judge Boyd, in the interests of the Southern cotton mills, ruled that this law infringed upon the constitutional right of contract—specifically, the right of a father to contract the labor of his children. (A North Carolina father had been induced to represent that he could not make a sufficient livelihood without the earnings of his little children, whose labor was forbidden by the 1916 law.) This decision drove thousands of children back into the cotton mills and factories. On July 3, 1918, nine months and three days after the law had been in operation, the United States Supreme Court, in a five-to-four decision, affirmed the district court's decision that the law was not a legitimate exercise of Congress's power to regulate interstate commerce, and was, therefore, unconstitutional.

Following this decision, Congress, on Feb. 24, 1919, enacted, as part of the 1918 revenue act, a provision for a 10 per cent. tax on the annual net profits of certain enumerated establishments which employed children in violation of age and hour standards laid down in the act. This law became operative April 25, 1919, and continued in effect to May 15, 1922. Because of this law, 150,000 children gained their freedom. The United States Supreme Court, how-



MISS GRACE ABBOTT

Chief of the Children's Bureau, United States Department of Labor—the branch of the Government most interested in the child labor amendment

ever, declared this law unconstitutional, "an abuse of the Federal taxing power," and as a result these children were driven back into the mills. The cleverest and ablest lawyers in Congress have been unable to devise a law that can win the sanction of the Supreme Court. Since these Federal child labor laws have been declared unconstitutional, the Federal Government has no jurisdiction over employment of children in the United States, and the only possible regulation can come through an amendment to the Constitution specifically granting Congress the power to pass laws regulating the employment of children. Such an amendment, which will take two years or more before it can become effective, is the only hope, the only salvation for these little ones, to tear down the judicial barrier which keeps our children out of school where they can obtain their precious education and enjoy the privileges of childhood playtime. Our national and State forests are guarded against fire and every other danger that might result in the loss of a single tree. Game laws protect our finned, furred and feathered neighbors in every State of the Union. The minions of the law stand guard over the beasts of the field to protect them from abuse, danger and disease, but the vast army of frail, poverty-stricken children, accidents in the great drama of life, who are continually being ground to death between the upper and nether millstones of capitalistic greed and political corruption, have little or no protection at all.

CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT

In June, 1924, the United States Senate, by a vote of 61 to 23, approved the child labor amendment. The House of Representatives had already adopted the resolution. The amendment will now start on its long journey to the State Legislatures. Three-fourths of them, or thirty-six of the forty-eight, must approve the amendment before it becomes law. Arkansas, a Southern State, was the first State to adopt it. Every pro-

posal to extend Federal power must be examined on its own merits. In this case the merits and necessity of Federal legislation are clear. It is a well-known fact that in many of our States the rapacity of mill and mine owners and the selfishness of parents who live from the toil of their children control the State legislators. The only sincere objection advanced is that too much power will be given the Federal Government. Most of us do not want to see any more power centred in far-off Washington, run as it is run today. The failure of the State child labor laws to prevent widespread employment of children is not due so much to a low standard as to numerous exemptions permitted and an inadequate enforcement of the law.

According to Miss Grace Abbott, Chief of the Children's Bureau of the United States Department of Labor, 1,060,000 children between the ages of 10 and 15 years were employed in the United States in January, 1920. In the last four years this figure has been augmented greatly. Taking the 1920 figures as a basis, one child in every twelve in America between the ages of 10 and 15 years is gainfully employed. One in every eight at the age of 14, and one in every five at the age of 15 is in a quarry, mill, factory or on a farm. According to Miss Abbott, children at the ages of 5, 6 and 7 years work late at night at occupations which strain the eyes, blister and callous the hands. This labor is not performed in factories—most States have laws which prevent this for children under 14—but on factory work at home. This condition exists in the most important jewelry manufacturing centre in the country and in cotton, small wares, knit goods and lace.

The authors of the Constitution were not very explicit, but somewhat extreme, when they said: "All men are born free and equal." Of course, this is not true. It could be true, and it should be true, that all men are born free, and in some respects, at least, equal. If the test be applied physically, mentally or morally, we find that some are physical weaklings and others



Wide World

The first State to ratify the child labor amendment to the United States Constitution was Arkansas, whose Governor, Thomas C. McRae, is here seen signing the bill passed by the State Legislature for that purpose

equipped with every physical endowment; some are mental dwarfs and others are giants in the field of intellect; some are moral perverts, slaves to their own evil propensities—perhaps unavoidably so—and others are strong and practically immune to the evil forces that constitute a part of every man's environment. This, however, was not the thought in the minds of the constitutional fathers, but rather that every man was free and equal in his relation to society. In this latter respect men are not free; in this respect they should be free. In this respect they are not equal; in this respect they should be equal. Is the child born under the burden and blight of repellent poverty who is forced into the sweatshops and mills at the age of 10 or 12 years as equal in his relation to society as the child of the sweatshop owner or mill owner who is placed in a private school where he may have all the advantages of a proper

education, environment and associates? Is he as free?

5,000,000 TUBERCULAR CHILDREN

According to the tuberculosis department of the American Red Cross, there are in America 5,000,000 children most of whom are or have been workers when they should have been under the care of a physician with medical attention and fresh air, suffering from malnutrition. Add to this the untold millions who eke out a bare existence, living from hand to mouth, without any chance of laying by for the days of physical incapacity due to ill health or old age, and this army of poorly fed, undernourished, scantily clad, becomes a great black cloud on our national horizon that threatens disaster to future generations as well as a shameful stain upon the escutcheon of a nation of boasted plenty, generosity, freedom, equality. When the underfed, neg-

lected, poorly housed and improperly clad child is forced into the mills and factories as a living sacrifice to the great god Moloch, he is handicapped at the very start; he has not an even chance with which to begin life. While still in his infancy a yoke is laid upon his after years, and he is doomed either to die in early youth or to live and grow up puny, weak and emaciated, both in body and in mind, inefficient and unfitted for the eternal struggle for bread. Our prisons are filled to overflowing with these children.

The problem of the child is the problem of the race, and science more and more emphatically declares that almost all problems of physical, mental and moral degeneracy originate with the child. The physician traces the weakness and disease of the adult to defects in early childhood. The penologist traces moral perversion to the same cause; the pedagogue finds the same explanation for his failures. Thus it is that poverty, the cause of child labor and the parent of physical and mental and moral weaknesses, of illiteracy, ignorance, crime, vice, misery, degradation and shame, bind their defenseless, unfortunate victims, body, mind and soul, in bonds of slavery a thousand times more cruel, more unjust, more merciless, than those that bound the black slaves of the South a few years ago. Poverty, this grim, stalking monster, the disgrace of civilization, is followed in its wake by death, and each year an army of 90,000 children fall victims to the god of greed, whose agent poverty is. Poverty, a product of monopoly, excessive taxation, high tariff, private control of the necessities of life, political graft and all the base schemes of war that maniacs wage for gold, assails the child—the child who is the nation's most valuable asset. This poverty is neither of the child's own making nor choosing. It is imposed

upon him by the lords of high finance through their most valuable, reliable servant, modern politics—politics in the hands of corrupt politicians who, through lobbied legislation, make it possible for their moneyed masters to live immune from prosecution, in spite of their high-handed robbery and exploitation. This is not socialism, or any other "ism"; it is a statement of plain facts. Indigence or poverty on a large scale is a menace to the welfare of any nation, and in spite of the much-vaunted and heralded prosperity indigence and poverty abound in America. At the door of modern politics lies most of the blame.

EMPLOYERS' OPPOSITION

For years the employers of child labor have successfully fought legislation affecting the welfare of child laborers. These men, money mad, do not sit in our legislative halls and make our laws, but they maintain high-priced lobbyists for the purpose of influencing legislation in favor of the interests and industries they may chance to represent. East, West, North and South, the army of infant toilers labor on because our present political system makes it possible for capitalistic greed to dictate the policy of our Government, Federal and State, and to influence legislation favorable to their own selfish interests. It is obligatory that this Government give to its future generations every chance for health, liberty and happiness. If we fail to adopt an amendment to our Constitution that will set these children free, we have acknowledged that the United States is entangled in the red tape of an outworn political system of legislation, that our Government is impotent to protect its own childhood, and we should renounce our claims to a place among the civilized nations of the world.

The Case for Immediate Philippine Independence

By MANUEL L. QUEZON

President of the Philippine Senate

THERE has in recent months been a rising tide of interest in the Philippine question. The press of the United States has been giving more than a passing notice to things Philippine. During the last session of Congress several bills for immediate or deferred independence were introduced and discussed, one of them having been endorsed by the Committee on Insular Affairs of the House of Representatives. Moreover, in the recent platforms of the three political parties in the field the problem of Philippine freedom is included among those submitted to the American electorate. The need of an immediate fulfillment of America's promises of independence to the Filipino people is thus a vital question.

Concretely, the whole Philippine problem reduces itself to the following: The people of the United States, speaking through Congress in 1916, assured the Filipinos that independence would be recognized as soon as a stable government could be established in the islands under the Jones law. Such a government having been organized, the only condition precedent to the granting of independence in accordance with the terms of that law has been met, and it is now incumbent on the American people to perform their part of the covenant. In fact, the Filipinos have more than complied with their obligation; they have not only set up a stable government, but achieved progress in the various lines of human endeavor.

A proper understanding of the Philippine problem requires some knowledge of the history of Filipino struggles for freedom. When the Spanish conquerors came to the Philippines in the sixteenth century they found a native culture deep-rooted in the traditions

of the Malay race. The Filipinos resisted the sovereignty of the King of Spain, but were finally overcome. For three centuries Spain's influence as a Western Christian nation gradually wrought fundamental changes on the Filipino mode of life. Contrary to popular impression in the United States, there were in the islands, at the advent of the American troops, more than 2,000 public schools and several institutions of higher education, one of which, the University of Santo Tomas, had been in existence since 1611, twenty-five years before the foundation of Harvard University. Little wonder, then, that during the Spanish régime before the revolution of 1896 there had been from time to time local uprisings for governmental reforms.

The movement that culminated in the nation-wide armed revolt of 1896 for independence had its beginnings in 1872, when three Filipino priests, Burgos, Gomez and Zamora, were executed by the Spaniards for advocating liberal ideas. From that time on discontent grew in intensity. For the following two decades Filipino leaders were active in awakening the national sentiment against Spanish abuses. Among these leaders were Dr. José Rizal, the martyred Filipino hero, and Marcelo H. del Pilar. When the revolution finally broke out in 1896 the national consciousness had already crystallized into a longing for independence, the two prominent figures in this revolt being Andres Bonifacio and Emilio Aguinaldo. At the time American forces occupied Manila on Aug. 13, 1898, the Filipino revolutionary Government had actual and effective control over the whole archipelago outside the capital city, with local governments recognizing the central Filipino

authority. Shortly afterward a democratic Constitution of the Philippine Republic was adopted. The Filipino people therefore had a government de facto under the principles of international law, and by the Treaty of Paris Spain attempted to transfer to the United States what she had already in fact lost. This was one of the reasons that impelled the Filipino people in February, 1899, to resist the implantation of American rule.

MCKINLEY'S DISAVOWALS

Though defeated on the battlefield, the national spirit of the Filipino people was not crushed. Renewed faith in the future dawned when disavowals of imperialistic designs were made by President McKinley and other American statesmen. The Filipinos laid down their arms, drawing hope from these generous pronouncements of American representatives, and trusting that by proving their worth through the processes of peace they would soon be permitted to re-establish their own government. True, a new political party, the Federal Party, supported by Mr. Taft, was organized, with the idea of the Philippines eventually becoming a State of the Union as its principal object. But this party did not find favor with the masses of the people. By 1907, when the elections for the first Philippine Assembly were held, the candidates who stood for immediate independence won an overwhelming victory. Since then no candidate who was even suspected of being against immediate independence has been elected to any public office. The Federal Party was succeeded by the Progresista Party, which advocated ultimate independence, after some period of training in self-government. This party also was short-lived because the Filipino people did not take kindly to it.

The Nationalist Party, which has been victorious at all elections since 1907, has always stood for immediate independence. The opposition party, the Democrata, has vied with the party in power in the advocacy for immediate



MANUEL L. QUEZON

President of the Philippine Senate and
Chairman of the Philippine Independence
Mission

and complete independence. It is thus seen that the independence idea springs from the heart of the masses. The very statement, so often made in the United States, that the Filipinos do not really want independence and that the leaders have adopted it only as a vote-getting slogan bears its own refutation. If to win popular support it is necessary to advocate immediate and complete independence, what better proof can there be that the people themselves want independence now?

Upon the implantation of American sovereignty, municipal and provincial Governments were organized. Local self-government was thus the beginning of the policy of extending home rule to the Filipinos. When, in 1907, the first Philippine Assembly elected by the people was inaugurated, the law-making body for the islands, which had theretofore been made up solely of the Philippine Commission appointed by the President of the United States, became bicameral. The Filipino people

were thereby given an equal share in insular legislation. In the latter part of 1913 complete control over law-making was turned over to the Filipinos through the appointment, by President Wilson, of a majority of Filipinos to the upper house, or Philippine Commission. The Philippine law-making body became still more representative when, under the terms of the Jones law passed by Congress in 1916, the Philippine Commission was abolished and in its place the elective Philippine Senate was created. Domestic affairs were thus in the hands of the Filipinos when Governor General Wood took office in 1921. It is needless to relate at this time the incidents resulting from his reactionary policies. Suffice it to say that his mistaken construction of his powers under the Organic act has aroused discontent among the Filipino people and is repugnant to the letter and the spirit of the Jones law, which grants ample autonomy to the Filipino people.

FILIPINO CAPACITY

The Filipino people, as already indicated, enjoyed practical home rule for seven years, from 1914 to 1921. How they managed public affairs during this period has been the subject of controversy, the "holier-than-thou" critics of the Filipinos having gained the upper hand in the matter of publicity, thanks to the readiness of the press of the United States to publish the supposed mistakes rather than the real achievements of the Filipinos. From a purely journalistic point of view, this can easily be understood, for alleged government scandals have a far higher news value than cold figures showing progress. Common fairness would seem, however, to demand that the actual accomplishments of the Filipinos during that period of autonomy be given due hearing. Some of these accomplishments are here set forth, with figures that are a matter of public record and can be easily verified by consulting official documents. The facts show that the capacity of the



The Philippine Independence Mission to the United States (from left to right): Resident Commissioner Pedro Guevara, Senator Sergio Osmeña, Manuel L. Quezon, President of the Philippine Senate and Chairman of the mission; Speaker Manuel Roxas, Representative Claro M. Recto, minority leader, and Resident Commissioner Isauro Gabaldon

Filipinos has been tested and fully demonstrated.

Central Government—The executive departments were reorganized, the most closely allied bureaus having been grouped within the same department. With a view to a more effective cooperation between the legislative and the executive branches of the Government, two reforms were introduced: (1) the appearance of department secretaries before the Legislature to be interpellated on the floor of either house on public matters; and (2) the creation of the Council of State, constituted by the Governor General as Chairman, the presiding officers of both houses of the Legislature and the department secretaries, to discuss larger questions of policy. There was thus solved in the Philippines one of the problems confronting the Federal Government of the United States, namely, the lack of machinery whereby the executive and the legislative departments can work harmoniously. Then the budget system was introduced in the Philippines even before it was adopted by the Federal Government.

Education—Enrolment in the public schools was 440,000 in 1912-13, whereas in 1920-21 it had risen to 943,422, or more than double. The total amount spent for public education during the seven years before Filipino home rule was 45,859,000 pesos; the amount spent during the following seven years—the period of autonomy—was 78,094,000 pesos, an increase of 70 per cent. over the first period.

Administration of Justice—From Aug. 31, 1911, to Sept. 1, 1913, the last two years before Filipino home rule, 25.1 per cent. of the decisions appealed from the courts of first instance were reversed by the Philippine Supreme Court, whereas from March 3, 1919, to March 4, 1921, a period of two years with Filipinos in control of the Government, the percentage of reversals was only 20.8. The Philippine Supreme Court has always had a majority of American Justices and, according to the Wood-Forbes report, it "has the respect and confidence of the Philippine peo-

ple." All criticism of the administration of justice during Filipino autonomy has therefore no foundation in fact. Much has also been said about the alleged delay in the administration of justice. Though the law's delay is not foreign to the courts in the United States, it will be of some interest to know that during the seven years before Filipino home rule the number of cases disposed of by the Philippine courts of first instance was only 82,000, while the number of cases disposed of during Filipino autonomy, from 1914 to 1921, was 117,000, or an increase of 42 per cent.

Public Health—In 1913 there were only eight public hospitals; in 1921 there were twenty-two. The death rate from 1908 to 1913 was 32.28 per thousand, whereas from 1914 to 1919 it was reduced to 28.62 per thousand.

Transportation—In 1913 there were 2,035 kilometers of first-class roads; in 1920 there were 4,698 kilometers, or more than double. In 1913 there were 680 vessels engaged in the coastwise traffic, with a net tonnage of 54,496; while in 1920 the number rose to 3,044 vessels, with a total net tonnage of 99,376.

Economic Development—In 1913 the value of Philippine commerce was only 202,000,000 pesos, but in 1920 it increased to 601,000,000 pesos. The area cultivated with the six leading products of the Philippines (rice, sugar cane, cocoanut, hemp, corn and tobacco) from 1910 to 1913 was 9,070,120 hectares; from 1918 to 1921 it was 12,686,340 hectares.

Financial Matters—Many people have raised the hue and cry about the losses of the Philippine National Bank. It should be borne in mind that these losses were traceable to world-wide, after-war conditions, which ruined numberless banks both in the United States and in Europe. It should be said in passing that the Filipino officials guilty of wrongdoing in the management of the bank were promptly proceeded against by Filipino prosecuting attorneys and sent to the penitentiary by Filipino

Judges. A good deal has also been said about the shortage in the currency reserve fund, which depreciated the Philippine peso. Such shortage was due to two causes, for either of which no Filipino Government official is responsible: (1) The investment by the Philippine National Bank of the funds deposited in New York, and (2) the paralysis of the market for Philippine products.

Such are some of the accomplishments of the Filipinos during the period when they were allowed to manage their own affairs. The facts set forth should convince every fair-minded man that, when afforded the opportunity, the Filipinos succeed in self-government. To expect more than they have actually done would be to require of them more than usual standards. Knowing that all governments, even the most advanced, such as that of the United States, are but experimental, and that no nation can justly claim to be a model, the Filipino people rightly resent the fault-finding attitude of many of those who would deny them their God-given right to a place in the sun.

PRESENT CONDITIONS

The literacy of the Filipinos above ten years of age was 54 per cent. in



Keystone

Governor General Leonard Wood (left) photographed with Emilio Aguinaldo, the Filipino rebel leader (right)

1918. It is now about 60 per cent. This is a better record than in many independent countries today. The number of public schools is 7,686, besides the University of the Philippines, which has an attendance of 5,000. The enrolment in the public schools during the school year 1923-24 was over 1,112,000. Attendance in accredited private schools and colleges is 64,834. There are property and educational qualifications for voters. At the last general elections in 1922, 86 per cent. of the qualified voters actually voted, which bespeaks keen interest in public questions. The population of the Philippines at present

is estimated to be 11,500,000. According to the census of 1918 the population was then 10,314,310. The Filipinos belong to a single stock, the Malay. Ninety-two per cent. of them are of the Christian faith. English and Spanish are widely spoken throughout the archipelago, besides the native languages, all of which are similar to one another, and four of which are spoken by the great bulk of the population. The principal native languages have an established literature.

All observers admit the wonderful progress made by the Filipinos during the last quarter of a century. The late President Harding said that that progress is "without parallel anywhere in the world." The objects for which America assumed temporary sponsorship have thus been attained. To postpone the time for independence would lend color to the suspicion that other than altruistic purposes are beginning to carry weight in the consideration of the Philippine question. Moreover, to require further time for greater advancement may lead to an indefinite, perhaps permanent, retention of the Philippines, for thus far there has not been found any way of appraising the progress necessary to set up an independent government.

Nor should the moral issue involved be overlooked. The American people, through their duly authorized spokesmen, have assured the Filipinos that independence would be granted. President McKinley in 1899 said that America was giving to the Philippines "the richest blessings of a liberating rather than a conquering nation." President Roosevelt in his message to Congress in 1908 stated: "The Filipino people, through their officials, are therefore making real steps in the direction of self-government. I hope and believe that these steps mark the beginning of a course which will continue till the Filipinos become fit to decide for themselves whether they desire to be an independent nation." In his message to

Congress in 1912 President Taft said: "We should * * * endeavor to secure for the Filipinos economic independence and to fit them for complete self-government, with the power to decide eventually, according to their own largest good, whether such self-government shall be accompanied by independence." In 1916 the constitutional representatives of the American people, the Congress of the United States, solemnly promised the Filipinos that independence would be recognized as soon as a stable government could be established in the islands. Here is the preamble of the Jones law, passed by Congress in that year:

Whereas it was never the intention of the people of the United States in the incipency of the war with Spain to make it a war of conquest or for territorial aggrandizement; and

Whereas it is, as it has always been, the purpose of the people of the United States to withdraw their sovereignty over the Philippine Islands and to recognize their independence as soon as a stable government can be established therein; and

Whereas for the speedy accomplishment of such purpose it is desirable to place in the hands of the people of the Philippines as large a control of their domestic affairs as can be given them without, in the meantime, impairing the exercise of the rights of sovereignty by the people of the United States, in order that, by the use and exercise of popular franchise and governmental powers, they may be the better prepared to fully assume the responsibilities and enjoy all the privileges of complete independence.

WILSON'S DECLARATION

The existence of a stable government under the terms of that law has been certified to by the President of the United States. President Wilson, in his message to Congress on Dec. 2, 1920, said:

Allow me to call your attention to the fact that the people of the Philippine Islands have succeeded in maintaining a stable government since the last action of the Congress in their behalf, and have thus fulfilled the condition set by the Congress as precedent to a consideration of granting independence to the islands.

I respectfully submit that, this condition precedent having been fulfilled, it is now our liberty and our duty to keep our promise to the people of those islands by granting them the independence which they so honorably covet.

The Filipino people cannot believe that the pledge made by Congress is but a scrap of paper. The Filipinos



Leaders of the Federation of Women's Clubs in the Philippines. Third from the left is the Moro Princess Dayang-Dayang of Sulu. Next to her is Mrs. Wood, wife of Governor General Leonard Wood

have performed their share of the obligation; it now behooves the American people to discharge their part of the agreement.

The objection that the Philippines, if granted independence, would become a prey to some great and ambitious power should not commend itself to serious attention. If independence should be deferred till the Filipino people are strong enough to repel an invasion by any first-class power, then it might as well be declared now that there is no intention of ever setting the Philippines free. If ability to frustrate external aggression were made one of the essential conditions of independence, how many nations today would have a right to be free? It is a fact that there are many small countries whose independence has been maintained for centuries, though they have no military strength to speak of. Whether the Philippines become independent now or a hundred years from now, the question of national defense will have to be faced by the Filipino people. Each nation must solve this problem for itself, and the Filipinos are conscious that they would

not be worthy of freedom if they were not willing to assume the risks of independent existence. Furthermore, the Filipino people are confident that with the changing ideals of the world with respect to international relations, and by just treatment to foreigners, their independence will be reasonably secure.

The experience of mankind offers the lesson that each nation, to be able to unfold its best, must express itself in its own way. American institutions are admirable indeed, and the Filipinos have learned a vast deal from them. But no one will seriously contend that the type of progress of the Filipinos should be American before they can stand alone in the world. For one thing, such a development cannot come about, and it would be sheer folly for the Filipinos to strive for it. We hope we have shown that it is high time for the American people to redeem their pledge of freedom. The Filipino people are grateful to America for what she has done for them, but they would be infinitely more grateful to her should she now let them work out their own destinies.

Russian Communism at the Crossroads

By WILLIAM HENRY CHAMBERLIN

An American Journalist Now Residing in Russia for the Purpose of Studying Political and Economic Conditions

EVERY annual Congress of the Russian Communist Party represents to a certain extent a crossroads point in the development of the Soviet State. New problems and tendencies are constantly arising, both in the political and economic fields; and it is at the party congresses that detailed reports illustrating these problems and tendencies are read and resolutions which are supposed to guide the future policy of the party and the Soviet Government—the two are almost interchangeable terms—are adopted.

The Thirteenth Communist Party Congress, which held its sessions in Moscow during the last week of May, met under the shadow of the party controversy of the previous Winter. Officially this controversy ended with the Moscow Party Conference in January, 1924, which passed resolutions upholding the majority of the Central Committee and condemning the so-called opposition as a "petty bourgeois deviation." But the memory of an internal party struggle in which such prominent Communist leaders as Trotsky, Radek, Pyatakov, Saprionov and Preobrazhensky were identified with the opposition could not be so quickly outlived. Jaro-slavsky, Secretary of the party's Central Control Committee and a stalwart upholder of the existing party leadership, frankly admitted in the course of the congress that within the party there was still a crushed and silenced opposition which might assert itself more visibly in the event of a new economic crisis.

The attitude of Trotsky excited the most widespread speculation on the eve of the congress. For a long time he had been linked with Lenin as one of

the two outstanding personalities of the Russian revolution, but last Winter his political prestige distinctly waned. Without definitely identifying himself with the opposition he published statements attacking the party organization for becoming bureaucratic and lacking flexibility. This brought him into sharp conflict with the majority of the Central Committee, headed by Stalin, the party Secretary; Zinoviev, President of the Third International, and Kamenev, Chairman of the important Council of Labor and Defense. At the party conference in January Stalin made a sharp attack on Trotsky, enumerating "six mistakes" which the latter was alleged to have made in his statements on party policy. The conference adopted resolutions altogether endorsing the viewpoint of Stalin and the Central Committee majority. Shortly before the party conference Trotsky, who had really been suffering from ill health, withdrew to Sukum, a Black Sea Winter resort, and remained in retirement for about three months. He returned to Moscow in April, took up his former work at the War Commissariat and made a number of speeches, mostly on international subjects, but without referring in any way to the party controversy.

In these circumstances Trotsky's expected speech at the congress aroused the liveliest conjectures. Would he frankly restate his former criticisms, thereby widening the breach between himself and the leading group in the Central Committee? Or would he admit that he had been wrong in the controversy, thereby strengthening the authority of his opponents? It was a difficult decision for Trotsky to make. To have adopted the first course and

openly vindicated the opposition at this congress, which was almost entirely filled with adherents of the Central Committee, would have been to risk an open breach and a possible removal from his positions of power and influence in the party and the Government. On the other hand, to have accepted the invitation which Zinoviev somewhat insidiously addressed to all the members of the former opposition, to have stated unequivocally that his position in the party controversy was mistaken would have been to lower his prestige and to weaken his position in the event of a new party controversy in the future. Under these conditions Trotsky chose a middle course. When Zinoviev's challenge to the members of the former opposition to acknowledge their mistake made it impossible for him to remain silent on the issues involved in the party controversy, he delivered a very cautiously phrased speech in which he asserted emphatically the absolute obligation of every Communist Party member to carry out decisions reached by the Central Committee, even if those decisions should not be in agreement with his own judgment.

TROTSKY'S CLEVER DEFENSE

"In the last analysis," said Trotsky, "the party is always right. If the party arrives at any decision that seems unjust to me I paraphrase the American proverb and say: 'Right or wrong, it's my party.'" But these sweeping expressions of party loyalty were not accompanied by any admission that he had been wrong in the party controversy. On the contrary, he made a guarded defense of his position in this matter, declaring that some of the principles which he advocated had been subsequently endorsed and incorporated in resolutions by the Central Committee. Trotsky thus extricated himself from his dilemma in rather clever fashion. On the one hand, by his declaration "My party—right or wrong" he cleared himself from the charge of "fractionalism" and attempting to break party unity—a most serious offense in the



M. KRESTINSKY
The Russian Ambassador to Germany

eyes of any Russian Communist. At the same time, by not conceding that his viewpoint last Winter was mistaken, he kept himself in a position to speak his mind freely in case a future political or economic crisis should call for new differences of opinion within the Communist ranks.

Just as Trotsky steered a middle course between open defiance and complete submission, so his leading opponents in the Central Committee, Zinoviev, Stalin and Kamenev, avoided the two extremes of excommunicating him and of declaring their differences with him altogether ended. Trotsky was re-elected to his old posts as member of the Central Committee and as member of the important Political Bureau, an inner group of seven members that directs and to some extent leads the work of the large Central Committee, which has fifty-three members. Nevertheless, Zinoviev, Stalin and Kamenev

made it very clear that they were far from satisfied with the position which Trotsky adopted in his speech. Zinoviev, whose attacks on Trotsky often have an element of almost personal bitterness, bluntly accused the War Commissar of trying to exploit Russia's economic difficulties of last Fall and Winter—difficulties connected with the sales crisis brought about by the high prices of manufactured goods—for the purpose of embarrassing the Central Committee. Kamenev more guardedly remarked that it would have been a good thing if Trotsky had made a clearer statement of the points in which he felt he was wrong, and of the points in which he felt the Central Committee was wrong.

The congress adopted resolutions unanimously upholding the viewpoint of the Central Committee and condemning

the viewpoint of the former opposition as a "petty bourgeois deviation"; but unanimity is a matter of good form at Communist Party conventions and scarcely signifies as much as it might in different circumstances. So far as the relations between Trotsky and the Central Committee leaders were concerned the congress left the impression that if events in Russia followed a normal course of development there would be no breach, but that the unhealed differences might assume a certain degree of significance if some burning issue should evoke a new party controversy in the future. The exchange of ideas between Trotsky and the Central Committee leaders naturally held the foreground of interest at the congress, but there were other events less spectacular, perhaps, which might prove equally im-



A street scene in the "old city" of Tiflis, the capital of Georgia.

portant in the course of Russia's development.

One problem of constant and increasing importance is the relation of the Soviet Government toward the peasants, who constitute at least three-fourths of the Russian population. At the present time the Communist Party has extremely little popular hold on the peasants. Out of the party's total membership of approximately 600,000 only about 65,000 are living in the peasant districts, and these 65,000 are not, for the most part, genuine peasants, but usually the local officials. Under these conditions the peasant majority of the Russian population has practically no representation in the ruling Communist Party. This situation is not so anomalous as it would be in a country politically and culturally more advanced than Russia. Most of the Russian peasants cannot read or write. They have little conception of national politics, little interest in anything that goes on outside their own villages. They had no chance to gain political education by participating in local or national government under the Czarist régime. In spite of their numbers, therefore, the peasants are politically a rather passive and docile element, easily ruled by a highly organized and aggressive minority like the Communist Party. Yet the silent, inarticulate pressure of the individualist peasant masses upon the Communist Soviet Government has been an important, although comparatively little noticed, factor in the development of the revolution. By their insistence upon the right to sell their products freely, an insistence which they backed up partly by riots and insurrections, partly and still more effectively by refusing to plant more grain than they required for their own needs, the peasants forced the Soviet Government to adopt the new economic policy, with its limited measure of capitalism, in the Spring of 1921.

PEASANTS' AWAKENING

The great famine of 1921, coming as the climax to many years of foreign and civil war, reduced the Russian peasantry

to a state of prostration and apathy. During the last two years, however, a certain degree of improvement has made itself felt in the Russian villages, and with the improvement in material conditions has gone an increase of consciousness and activity on the part of the peasants. To prevent this awakening consciousness and activity from being diverted into anti-Soviet channels, to increase the influence of the Communists in the villages, to work out forms of organization which are suitable to the peasants and at the same time not inconsistent with the socialist principles of the Soviet State, these are among the most important problems now confronting the Communist Party, and the congress devoted a good deal of attention to discussing means of solving them. President Kalinin, a peasant himself by origin, who spends much of his time traveling about the country keeping in touch with the moods, needs and desires of the peasants, delivered a report before the congress on general peasant problems. This report was characterized by its moderate tone, its disposition to conciliate the "middle peasants"—the peasants who farm their own land without employing hired labor—and its insistence upon the realities of peasant life as against doctrinaire theories.

Kalinin first of all sketched the condition of the villages. There had been a growth of general well-being since the worst period of the famine; but with this had gone a distinct growth of inequality. Favored by the introduction of free trade, a class of rich peasants, or kulaks, had sprung up. These kulaks, especially in the former famine area, were exploiting their poorer neighbors, who lacked working animals, machinery and credit and were obliged to obtain all these things from the kulaks on usurious terms. Collectivist ideas had made very slight progress in the villages. The few peasant communes were mere islands in the sea of individualist peasant farmers and in some cases found it difficult to pay their own way. The Soviet farms—large estates operated by the State—



A caravan with a shipment of coal in the Trans-Caspian Province of Russia

also left much to be desired from the standpoint of material prosperity. Under these conditions Kalinin recommended the gradual introduction of co-operation as the best means of strengthening the Soviet power in the village. He especially recommended the organization of producers' cooperatives among the peasants engaged in raising flax and cotton.

Emphasizing the necessity of more consideration for the peasants on the part of Government officials, Kalinin remarked: "The comparatively high taxes, the high prices of factory goods, clumsiness and bureaucratism on the part of the State machinery, all this and much more create sufficient causes of dissatisfaction." He urged the Communists to abstain from forms of anti-religious propaganda calculated to offend the feelings of the peasants and suggested that the Soviet Government should adopt a more favorable attitude toward the sectarians or dissenters from the Russian Orthodox Church, who had been severely persecuted under the Czarist régime.

Another phase of the peasant problem was discussed by Lenin's widow, Nadezhda Konstantinovna Krupskaya, who is a very active worker in the Commis-

sariat for Education. She gave a very depressing picture of the condition of education in the Russian rural districts. "We talk about eliminating illiteracy, but as a matter of fact illiteracy grows all the time. * * * What we found in the country districts was a nightmare of horrifying conditions in education." These were two of the strongest sentences in a report which had very little encouragement to offer. Krupskaya vividly described the miserable plight of the village teachers, who received ten or twelve rubles (five or six dollars) a month and did not even get this pittance regularly. Their material condition was so bad that it was impossible to expect them to take any real interest in their work or to keep up with developments in educational science. Equally bad was the position in regard to school buildings and textbooks. The former were mostly tumbledown for lack of repairs and the latter were not available in adequate quantities or at reasonable prices. As a result of the breakdown of regular education, equality of opportunity for the village children had disappeared. The rich peasants paid the daughter of the local priest or some other educated person to teach their children, whereas the

children of the poor peasants received no schooling at all in many cases. The chief reason for the sad plight of education in the country districts is the financial stringency of the country, which limits the appropriations for education to absurdly inadequate figures. Krupskaya admitted that striking improvement in the present situation could only come with the general improvement of the economic and financial situation. However, she suggested a few reforms which might be applied immediately. The salaries of the village teachers should be raised, at least slightly. There should be more equal distribution of educational funds as between the trade unions, which are now able to maintain excellent schools in some cases, and the illiterate villages. The State Publishing House should attempt at all costs to produce more, better and cheaper textbooks.

SLOW PROGRESS OF COOPERATION.

Andreev, a member of the Party Central Committee, made the report on cooperation, another subject that closely concerns the relation between the Government and the peasants. There are two main cooperative organizations in Russia, the Centrosoyuz, a consumers' cooperative, and the Selsky-soyuz, an organization which includes various cooperative groups of agricultural producers. The turnover of the Centrosoyuz increased from 306,000,000 rubles in 1922 to 496,000,000 in 1923 and the turnover of the Selsky-soyuz amounted to 23,000,000 rubles in the first seven months of 1923, as compared with 7,000,000 for the corresponding period in 1922. In spite of this gain in turnover Andreev pointed out a large number of defects in the functioning of the cooperatives up to the present time. They attracted only 7 per cent. of the population as members and captured only about 10 per cent. of the country's trade, although the Government gave them a number of privileges in such matters as tax exemption. Andreev outlined a number of reasons for the fail-

ure of the cooperatives to make a better showing, emphasizing their bureaucratic forms of organization, their failure to adapt themselves to the needs of the market, their dabbling in too many kinds of commercial activities to the detriment of their members' interests, and their habit of engaging an excessively large number of employes. All these things, he declared, hampered them in attaining their objective—the conquest of the retail trade market. After pointing out defects and suggesting means of remedying them, Andreev recommended a more exact differentiation of the functions of the Centrosoyuz and the Selsky-soyuz, the former to serve as a consumers' organization, attending strictly to the business of providing its members with articles of first necessity at cheaper prices; the latter to introduce the principle of cooperation among the peasant producers.

Interesting facts and figures regarding Russia's present economic position were presented by Gregory Zinoviev in the course of his report before the Congress. A year ago foreign trade was 14 per cent. of the pre-war volume; now it is 20. The last harvest amounted to 78 per cent. of the pre-war average, as compared with 75 per cent. in 1922. The peasants in 1924 had planted 90 per cent. of the area planted in 1916 and 80 per cent. of the area for 1913. Industrial production, which amounted to 32 per cent. of the pre-war volume for the 1922-1923 period, has now risen to 41 per cent. Zinoviev cited the following figures for individual industries: Oil, 65 per cent.; cast iron, 14 per cent.; Martens metal, 22 per cent.; cotton goods, 49 per cent.; woolen goods, 58 per cent. Labor productivity during the last year rose from 60 to 70 or 75 per cent. of the pre-war figure. This figure, however, has been sharply challenged by Felix Dzerzhinsky, President of the Supreme Economic Council, the body which manages the Russian State industries. Dzerzhinsky declares that labor productivity fluctuates between 34 and 58 per cent. of the pre-war average. Zinoviev declared that wages in the Rus-

sian industries now average 65 per cent. of pre-war, as compared with 50 per cent. a year ago. The average monthly wage of the Russian workman, which was 14.3 rubles for the first half of the fiscal year 1922-1923—this is reckoned from October to October—rose to 18.8 for the second half and is now reckoned at 27.2. A large part of this paper increase, however, is nullified by the simultaneous rise in prices. Deposits in the State Bank, which amounted to 37,000,000 rubles a year ago, have now increased to ten times that figure. Trade is distributed in the following proportions: State organs, 26 per cent.; co-operatives, 10 per cent.; private traders, 64 per cent. Zinoviev declared that the transportation system was still functioning with an annual deficit of 100,000,000 rubles, though Transport Commissioner Rudziatak recently declared that the deficit already incurred in the transportation system for the year that will end on Oct. 1, 1924, is 60,000,000 rubles. The amount of freight carried is about 40 per cent. of the pre-war figure.

UNSATISFACTORY CONCESSIONS POLICY

Zinoviev professed little satisfaction with the results of Russia's concessions policy. True, there were now fifty-five concessions, as against twenty-six a year previously, but very little productive foreign capital had been attracted into the country through this medium. Zinoviev declared that the foreign concessionaires, who were mostly Germans, had shown a tendency to overreach the Soviet Government on every point, especially in the matter of capital to be invested. For this reason seven mixed stock companies, in which the Soviet Government participated together with

foreign capitalists, yielded only 1,800,000 rubles in invested foreign capital, although the foreign concessionaires had promised to put in 19,000,000.

The Thirteenth Communist Party Congress, with its long reports, speeches and debates, left several outstanding impressions. The differences between Trotsky and the Central Committee group headed by Stalin, Zinoviev and Kamenev, were pushed into the background, but not definitely liquidated. If everything goes smoothly in Russia's development the differences may slumber and pass into oblivion; but they would be likely to reappear in the event of a crisis that would provoke widespread discussion in the party and the country. On the economic side there is no apparent readiness on the part of the Soviet Government to facilitate the entrance of foreign capital by relaxing its tight hold upon the industries and credit resources of the country or by adopting a more flexible concessions policy. The Communist Party is apparently committed to the theory that Russia can and will reconstruct its economic life by its own exertions. It also manifested to an increased degree appreciation of the fact that Russia is a peasant country and that the peasants must be propitiated economically if they are to continue to accept quietly the political hegemony of the Communists. The development of consumers' and producers' cooperation is an important item in the Soviet Government's program for satisfying the peasants. How successfully this cooperation, along with other theoretical decisions, has been carried out in practice will probably be shown by the reports and speeches at the next party congress, which will take place in Leningrad next year.



China Faces the Modern World

By LIANG SHIH-YI

Former Premier of the Chinese Republic.

[Translated by Y. P. Law, Education Department, Hongkong.]

WHEN an American says "Europe" he means one-fourth of the human race and, incidentally, one-fifteenth of the earth's surface upon which they dwell, and a fourth of the race that is diverse in ethnic origin, language, manners and religion. When he says "China" he means another fourth of the human race, dwelling upon another fifteenth of the earth's surface, but of one blood and with a single literature written in a literary language which is common to all. Is it fair, therefore, when you speak of disorder, to look upon Europe as consisting of separate units, but to regard China as a whole? The result of this is The result of this way of thinking is to count wars and robberies in China not as compared with all Europe but as compared with Germany, France, Russia, or some other smaller area. The inevitable conclusion is that China is the land of ceaseless conflict, whereas in Germany, France, Russia, or any European country, there are only occasional disturbances. To be strictly fair, we should compare populations that are numerically the same—that is, China and all Europe—and then it will be seen that Europe is at least as much given to strife as is China.

The great interest of all nations is peace, but you can no more localize peace than it was possible in 1914 to localize war. The problem of raising the money necessary to put the Dawes report into effect seems to depend upon the question of making the German railroads pay good dividends. This should not prove difficult, and then I believe many Chinese will be ready to subscribe to the loan as soon as it becomes evident that Western funds are available.

The Chinese have great confidence in the economic methods of the Western nations, and despite the poverty of the Chinese Government there is money ready for investment by the Chinese people. China's failure to meet certain important international financial obligations in recent years will no doubt give rise to the question why Chinese money should not first make good those failures. The fault, however, does not lie with the Chinese people who have the money with which to participate in the German loan. It is not because China is poor that she cannot pay her international debts. It is because the corrupt Chinese Government, of which the Chinese people are heartily ashamed, has not been able, perhaps not willing, to meet its obligations. This is a fact which the Chinese people deeply resent, but which at present they are unable to alter.

Until France ratifies the Nine-Power Treaty, thus making it possible to call together the international conference which is to abolish our interprovincial tariffs, known as *likin*, and to allow China an additional 2½ per cent. surtax,

Liang Shih-yi has held many important positions under the Chinese Government, as will be seen from the following: Secretary to Tang Shao-yi on the occasion of his mission to India in 1906; Chief of Department of Board of Communications, 1907; Director of Railways in Board of Communications, 1907; Assistant Director of Chiao Tung Bank, 1907; Senior Secretary of Board of Communications, July, 1909; Acting Vice Minister of Communications, November, 1911; Acting Director of Imperial Chinese Posts, December, 1911; Acting Minister of Communications, January to March, 1912; Chief Secretary in the President's office after the abdication of the Manchus (April, 1912); Acting Vice Minister of Finance, May to September, 1913; member of the Tsanchengyuan (Council of State), Minister of the Shuiwuchu; Director General of the Customs Administration, 1915; Director General of the Bureau of Taxes, 1915; Speaker of the Senate, May to October, 1918; Premier of China, resigned in 1922.

the Chinese people are powerless to do anything to restore the confidence which the recent failure of the Government to meet its obligations has so severely shaken. The Chinese people all favor the abolition of likin. Those Chinese who have been educated in America have not failed to remark that under America's first Constitution, the Articles of Confederation, custom houses separated the States as today they do the provinces of China, breeding, then as now, jealousies and animosities between political groups with a common future depending upon their ability to maintain peace and friendship among themselves. The problem of unifying China will be greatly simplified by the breaking down of customs barriers between the provinces, even as the problem of unifying America was simplified by the provision in the Constitution of 1789 providing for free commerce between the States. Even the Tuchuns,

the military Governors of the provinces, know that the end of likin and the additional 21½ per cent. surtax will lighten the heavy burdens which China bears today, and they, too, wish to see these changes made. They calculate that whereas the present annual revenue from likin internal customs is about \$67,000,000 Mex., the increased surtax will produce an extra \$80,000,000 Mex., and that this increase is to be divided among provinces proportionally to their original revenue from likin.

DISPUTE WITH FRANCE

The impression prevails that France has failed to ratify the Nine-Power Treaty because of a difference of opinion with China regarding the question whether the remaining amount due upon the Boxer indemnity should be paid in gold or paper francs. It is true that such a difference has arisen, and it is true that China resents the French demand that the balance be paid in gold francs, and for two specific reasons: (1) Gold francs are no longer in circulation in France itself; (2) China is not, like Germany, a nation that has just been defeated in war. The question of the basis of settlement of the Boxer indemnity was old before the Washington Conference assembled. If France had desired to make the settlement of that question a condition of signing the important Nine-Power Treaty, which resulted from the Washington Conference, she should have made that fact known while that treaty was being framed. Such a difference, we feel, cannot fairly be advanced now as a reason for blocking the way to Chinese prosperity, which we believe to be along the road marked out in the Nine-Power Treaty. If the United States can induce France to ratify the Nine-Power Treaty, and see that the American representatives at the conference, which is to meet within three months after that ratification, are men of large ability and large experience, we Chinese feel confident that we can obtain a settlement which will enable us to regain the confidence of America



LIANG SHIH-YI
Former Prime Minister of the Chinese Republic

and the other great Western nations which our recent defaults have lost. I myself have worked out a scheme by which, given that advantage, China can meet all her international obligations within twenty-five years, and begin to function financially as her vast natural resources and her enormous man-power entitle her to in the family of nations.

Though the Chinese desire to see reconciliations among their chief leaders, for these help to prevent strife, disorder and brigandage, China's problems cannot be really solved merely by alliances among military commanders. What we need is economic autonomy, economic encouragement and economic assistance in so far as this is a safe investment for our friends. We do not need charity; we do not need a receiver; we only need friends willing to give us a fair chance and to see that no one takes it from us. Astonishing as has been the development of the Far East since the passing of the period of isolation, its development during the next fifty years will be even greater. China is by far the greatest single factor in the Far East, for it possesses markets potentially comparable to France or Italy, hidden away in the vast recesses of the interior, a thousand miles from the nearest railroad, and practically cut off from the great world, and even from Eastern China. The Province of Szechuan, for example, has about 76,000,000 inhabitants, intelligent, energetic and extremely thrifty people, whose products will pack the freight trains as soon as capital gains confidence enough to provide railways. Every one of the twenty-two provinces, not to mention the vast area comprising the five "Isui Yu," all of which we claim as Chinese, in spite of the fact that we are not at present able to control them all, offers similar chances of development. The Chinese, who, even in the most remote regions, do not need to be educated in the use of the products of modern industry, would make excellent customers tomorrow if their economic resources should suddenly be developed so as to give them adequate

purchasing power. This will come slowly with the rise of modern industry and mass production.

INDUSTRIAL CHANCES

The Chinese industrial system has hitherto been made up of small family enterprises, the members of each family working together as a unit in their own factory. This system satisfied the needs of China to a certain extent so long as lack of transportation facilities limited the market to the neighborhood and so long as the cost of living remained very low. I myself encouraged these small enterprises while those conditions still existed. But they have passed in many places and are passing rapidly in others, thus making modern factories necessary. These are coming with astonishing rapidity, as capital is wise enough to see the possibilities offered by a combination of cheap labor, which is both intelligent and faithful, a wealth of raw material, and an increase in the number of native leaders of industry trained in the schools of the West and in the scientific institutions that have been established in China itself. Modern factories will spring up even more rapidly as order takes the place of confusion and captains of industry develop from the inexperienced. I have long advocated the closest cooperation between Western science, Western economic efficiency and the industrial classes of China. Such a combination would be productive only of good to Chinese and Americans alike. Few Americans realize the possibilities of mutual advantage which such an alliance offers in China even under present conditions. With the advances already made there has come a new spirit of hope among the Chinese laborers. In China we have practically no labor question, as that term is understood in the West. But we have laborers in abundance, and they are quick to learn, eager to serve, and as yet little disposed to have recourse to what is called sabotage.

It is often asked, What is wrong with China? Why are there so many rob-

bers? Why has the republic not yet demonstrated its right to be classed with the stable, orderly and powerful nations? In proportion to numbers, it is questionable whether there are so many more robbers in China than in other equally extensive areas of the earth's surface. An honest man or an honest woman is about as safe in China as elsewhere. As to the other questions, Americans can get a fairly good idea of "What is wrong with China?" by reading the history of their own first twelve or fifteen years of independence, when State was arrayed against State, and all were more or less contemptuous of the Continental Government, which, because of excessive localism, was unable either to direct the affairs of the States or to manage affairs which belong of right to every central government. During those years Europe looked with scorn upon America's feeble attempts to maintain even the semblance of dignity, and predicted confidently that "the great experiment" would not outlast the generation which had dared to enter upon it. Think of these troubles, and then remember that America's problems concerned only a couple of millions of souls, occupying the comparatively small area of thirteen States. China has dared to attempt the same experiment with one-quarter of the human race in an area larger than Europe.

PROGRESS UNDER REPUBLIC

It is still little more than a few years since the Manchu was overthrown and the people of China were declared the only sovereign. Yet in this short period progress has been made, greater than even the most sanguine were justified in anticipating, when Dr. Sun Yat-sen transferred the leadership to Yuan Shikai. The old order is gone, and gone, I believe, forever. The old schools have given place to schools of the Western type, not yet in sufficient numbers to make the masses the intelligent citizens which must be trained before any popular government can expect full

success, but rapidly increasing. Moreover, during all those years China has felt the ruthless power of foreign exploitation, which has refused to make concessions as rapidly as the people became prepared for them. Compelled, against our will, to turn our energies to the gigantic task of preparation for Western warfare, at a time when those energies should have been devoted wholly to education and acquiring the modern arts of peace, we have developed a hybrid system which results in neither defense nor industrial progress. For the consequent brigandage and lawlessness we blame ourselves; but we blame also the nations which have forced us to feel that physical power is the one and only prerequisite to independence. Our present condition, though not half so chaotic as a Western press eager for sensationalism would have foreigners believe, is yet bad enough to require time and patience and the sympathetic cooperation of the nations whose future is of necessity bound up with our success. We Chinese ask the Western peoples not to cry failure until we have failed. As yet, though we are conscious that we have not succeeded, we have certainly not failed. Nor shall we fail. We shall succeed, and our success will be of advantage not to Chinese alone, but to the millions who, in future trade and intellectual intercourse, will find life easier because of our success.

Today China has about a million men in arms, and they are more of a menace to Chinese than to the outside enemies of China. We do not want a million men in arms. We welcome every change and turn which brings the world nearer to the time when vast armies will be no longer considered an essential of civilization. We do not want to be compelled to take the worst from the West, but its best and highest ideals. Our people are not facile learners of the arts of war, for we hate war and all the wasteful trappings of war. We can divert our armies into the ways of peace only if the progressive West will advance to a point where we can feel

secure in devoting our intelligence to the works of peace.

ATTITUDE TOWARD RUSSIA

In our recent adjustment with Russia China was allowed to act for herself without foreign interference. Despite reports to the contrary, the recognition of the Soviet is due to the opinion of the Chinese people and not to the manipulations of France, Japan, the United States or any other foreign power. China, as always, was looking for peace, and she therefore looked for the essential conditions of peace. There is no other country geographically so close to China as Russia. On the north, on the northeast and on the northwest their boundaries touch, and all along the line their interests come into contact with one another. When Russia was a monarchy her avowed policy was imperialistic expansion, and the Russo-Japanese War was the fruit of that policy. At that time China enjoyed comparative peace and could watch her frontiers. In 1920, when the Soviet Government publicly renounced imperialism and expansion by force of arms, many influential Chinese wished to welcome this new policy by recognizing the new Russian Government. But there were many other Chinese equally intelligent and patriotic who greatly feared the doctrines known as Bolshevism, and their fears delayed recognition. After much debate, calm consideration and more debate, the opinion took shape in China that Bolshevism could never be popular in China, where there are no capitalists or big land owners. We saw, furthermore, that in view of our geographical relation to Russia recognition offered us many advantages. Dr. C. T. Wang was therefore chosen to negotiate with Soviet Russia a treaty of recognition. The terms which he brought back needed certain modifications, and when these were made formal recognition followed, to the benefit, as we believe, not alone of China and Russia, but of all nations; for our agreements with Russia all look toward a lasting peace.

While I was in Europe, Premier Her-

riot said in the French Parliament: "If Europe is to have peace, Germany must be disarmed." As I thought my way back across 12,000 miles of ocean, I added: "And if the world is to have peace, the world must be disarmed." It is useless in these days to talk of Europe having peace, or America having peace, or China having peace. The problem of peace belongs to no one nation, but to all nations. It must be world-wide peace, or none at all. If every army and every navy could be obliterated, and every man now following the unproductive ways of military preparation could be put behind a plow, or into a factory, the problem of the world's subsistence would at once become so simple that peace would seem the normal thing of life. That has been clear to the Chinese from the dawn of history, as is shown by the fact that we have always rated the soldier as the lowest class in the social life of the nation.

America's friendship for China is a friendship which we cannot doubt. She has given us too many proofs for doubts to survive. The latest proof, the return of the balance of our old Boxer indemnity debt, is only a few weeks old; and it contains suggestions which are particularly gratifying. The provision that the money is to be used for technical schools in China enables us to train three times as many students as we could train had we been asked to send them to American institutions. It is also an excellent idea to have the best of the students so trained sent later to America for special, advanced work. It encourages us to see that America recognizes the fact that China, despite her many handicaps, has made real progress since the date of the first return of Boxer indemnity funds in 1908. Then it was necessary that the students be sent to America if they were to obtain a modern Western training, because the facilities for this did not exist in China. A decade and a half has made so great a change that the United States now feels it possible to give these

students adequate modern training in China; and, with characteristic friendliness, she has definitely declared that she considers this to be now the wise course. Another proof of American sincerity is that she has suggested that the funds in question be administered under the direction of a committee of nine Chinese and five Americans, and that three of the Chinese be elected by the Chinese people. The suggestion is admirable because it shows that the American people have the wisdom to place faith in the Chinese people, even if they distrust the Chinese Government. It is to be hoped

that henceforth the people of the West may come more and more to look upon the Chinese people as the honest friends of international justice, upon which alone permanent world-wide peace can be built.

There is no such thing as a Pan-Asiatic movement in train so far as China is concerned. That menace described by a recent Western writer as "the rising tide of color" is fiction, not fact, in so far as it relates to the Chinese. Our openly expressed desire for peace, friendship and commerce with all nations is also our secret hope.

Russia's Move to Treat China as an Equal

By K. K. KAWAKAMI

American Correspondent of the Tokio Nichi Nichi and the Osaka Mainichi

THE Russo-Chinese agreement of May 31 is of greater significance than is generally appreciated by the American people. Viewed from the Russian standpoint, it means that the Soviet Government is determined to retain the foothold obtained by the Czarist Government in the Far East, particularly Manchuria, and that Russia has begun to retrieve her position in the Orient. On the side of China the agreement apparently opens a new diplomatic era, placing that republic for the first time on terms of absolute equality and reciprocity with a Western nation. China has in this agreement a foundation upon which to build a new structure of international relations in which she can stand upon an equal footing with the leading powers of the world. Japan naturally is the first nation to feel the repercussion of the rapprochement between Peking and Moscow.

The pact between Russia and China

is embodied in a basic agreement of fifteen articles, a supplementary agreement, a *modus vivendi* of eleven articles, and three declarations. In order to conclude a formal treaty based upon these agreements and declarations, and to define details left unsettled by these instruments, another conference is to be held in the immediate future.

The first thing which attracts our attention is Russia's recantation of her repeated promises with regard to her so-called vested interests in Manchuria and Mongolia. In April, 1919, the Soviet Foreign Office addressed to the Chinese Government a message couched in these terms:

We hereby propose to open the eyes of China. The Soviet Government of Russia has denounced all the enterprises of conquest launched by the Czarist Government. We will return the Chinese Eastern Railway to China without compensation. We will restore to China all the mines and forests wrested from her by the Governments of the Romanoffs, of Kerensky, of Horvat, of Semenoff, of Kolchak. We do not care for the Boxer

indemnity. China must drive from her territory the slaves of the Romanoff dynasty who have been beguiling her. We will relinquish all privileges obtained by Russian interests in Chinese territories, and will denounce all treaties concluded between China and the Czarist Government. If China wishes to escape the fate of India or Korea, she must understand the reason for the existence of the Red Guards, the Russian farmers and laborers, who are the only supporters of freedom.

Similar promises were repeated in the Moscow manifesto of July, 1919, addressed to "the Ministers, Civil Governors, bureaus and people of the Chinese Republic." Compare these promises with the new relationship between China and Russia and it will be readily seen how far Soviet Russia has recanted.

CHINESE EASTERN RAILWAY

The most important matter that has awaited adjustment between Peking and Moscow is the ownership and management of the Chinese Eastern Railway, a Manchurian line of some 1,070 miles. Contrary to the former Soviet pledge, the new agreement does not propose to hand over this property to China without compensation. It recognizes China's right to purchase it with her own capital, that is, with funds not borrowed from any third party or parties. The price put upon the railway by the Soviet is said to be between 600,000,000 and 700,000,000 gold rubles. This is tantamount to an injunction upon China's exercise of the right to purchase the railway, since China's finances, the chaotic state of which shows no signs yet of improvement, make it impossible for her to raise so large a sum without foreign financial aid.

How will the railway be managed while it remains unpurchased by China? The answer is found in the supplementary agreement of eleven articles, which provides for the organization of a board of ten directors, five Russian and five Chinese, of which a Chinese is to be the Chairman. In addition, there are to be organized an executive department and an operating department which will wield the real authority of the management. The executive department, responsible for the maintenance

of peace and order along the railway, is to consist of three Russian and two Chinese directors; the operating, or traffic, department is to be under a Russian director assisted by a Russian and a Chinese vice-director. This arrangement, as far as division of authority between Russia and China and the number of directors are concerned, does not differ greatly from the arrangement now in force. The only difference, but a vital one, is that under the new agreement the Russian directors and other officials who were appointed under Czarist and Kerensky régimes are to be dismissed and their places filled by representatives of the Soviet Government. That is why France is vigorously opposing the new agreement. She contends that the Chinese Eastern Railway came into existence by virtue of an agreement concluded in 1896 between the Chinese Government and the Russo-Chinese (now Russo-Asiatic) Bank, of which the majority of the stock is owned by French capitalists, and that any agreement regarding the ownership or management of the road that might be made without French consent is invalid.

The French contention is supported by the United States, Great Britain, Japan and Italy—the signatories to a resolution adopted at the Washington Conference for the purpose of protecting the rights of the nations or individuals interested in the Chinese Eastern Railway. The United States and Japan find an additional reason for protesting against the new agreement in the fact that they advanced \$5,000,000 each for the maintenance of the road in 1918-19, when Siberia and North Manchuria were in a chaotic state following the Russian revolution. The railway, moreover, owes the South Manchuria Railway, a Japanese corporation, a few million dollars. The new agreement virtually serves notice upon the interested powers that the disposition of the Chinese Eastern Railway is a matter that concerns China and Russia only, and that no foreign nation must interfere with it.

The second important question be-



Wide World

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tween China and Soviet Russia is the status of Mongolia. In 1912 the Czar concluded a secret agreement with the "Living Buddha," the real ruler of Mongolia, making that vast country a virtual protectorate of Russia. The Chinese Government immediately lodged a protest with the Czarist Government. The upshot of it all was the establishment in 1915 of a Russo-Chinese joint protectorate over Mongolia. Soon after the Russian revolution China denounced this arrangement and declared Mongolia a Chinese territory. In 1921, the Soviet Government, finding a plausible excuse in the presence in Outer Mongolia of "white" or reactionary forces under Baron Ungern, sent its own forces into that country. Although Ungern's forces were quickly destroyed, the Soviet has ever since been entrenched in Outer Mongolia. Had Russia acted upon the

glowing promises held out before China in 1919-20, it should have evacuated Mongolia promptly and unconditionally. The new agreement merely declares Russia's intention of withdrawing troops from Mongolia, reserving the date and terms of evacuation for further negotiation. All this lends color to the view expressed by Professor Alfred L. P. Dennis:

From the first of the Bolshevik régime in Russia, both the Soviet and the Communist International have paid a vast amount of attention to Asiatic affairs. There has developed a steadfast determination that, under the leadership of a handful of zealots at Moscow, whether by revolutionary incitement or by the evolution of national policy, Russia should once more play a dominant rôle in Asia. At present Soviet authorities are playing to the gallery of radical Young China and are also trying to negotiate with Japan. At the same time they are voicing historical plans and desires for influence and power. Opportunist in mind, Russia aims to "come back" in the Far East.

What does China gain from the new agreement? Although she has failed to secure unconditional surrender of the Chinese Eastern Railway or the unconditional evacuation of Mongolia, her gains may be summarized as follows:

- (1) Abolition of extraterritoriality in China as far as Russia is concerned;
- (2) Abrogation of all the treaties, conventions and agreements between the Czarist Government and China, and conclusion of new treaties upon the principle of equality and reciprocity;
- (3) Abrogation of such of the treaties between Russia and a third party or parties as may be prejudicial to the sovereignty of China;
- (4) Relinquishment by Russia of all privileges relative to tariff, and eventual conclusion of a tariff treaty based upon reciprocity;
- (5) Relinquishment by Russia of all claims to the settlements, barracks and leased lands established or obtained in China by the Czarist Government;
- (6) Relinquishment of Russian claims to the remainder of the Boxer indemnity.

These gains, it may be argued, are theoretical rather than real, moral rather than material. To the Chinese mind, however, they are of great importance. The rights involved are those which the Chinese Government and people have for decades been struggling to recover. China may not yet be prepared effectively to exercise these rights and to assume the responsibilities which the exercise of such rights will put upon her shoulders, but the fact is that she has been chafing under the treaties which



International

A donkey railroad connected with the southern branch of the Chinese Eastern Railway

she has regarded as unfair and unjust and which she has long since determined to abrogate at the first opportunity that might come her way. That opportunity came with Russia's overtures, and she has grasped it with avidity.

The political and moral influence of the Peking-Moscow rapprochement cannot be overestimated. Japan will be obliged to recognize Russia and to alter her policy in China. Following the example set by the Soviet, Japan has decided to elevate her legation at Peking to the rank of embassy. Her leaders are seriously considering the relinquishment of extraterritoriality in China. Her policy in Manchuria will have to be readjusted to no small extent. Although the South Manchuria Railway Company, a Japanese corporation operating some 700 miles of railroads in Manchuria, has been a great civilizing agency and has made a great contribution to the prosperity and progress of Manchuria, China has always looked upon its enterprises as a sort of reflec-

tion upon her own administrative efficiency. Of late the Chinese authorities have been contesting the right of the South Manchuria Railway to maintain schools for the Chinese children within the railway zone. There is no doubt that these Japanese schools are much better equipped and better managed than Chinese schools. Nor can it be doubted that the Japanese company is actuated by benevolent motives in maintaining these schools. Nevertheless, the Chinese regard them as an infringement upon the sovereignty of China. If the Chinese prefer to look at it in that light, there is no reason why Japan should insist upon conducting educational work in the railway zone at great cost.

Another Japanese right which is bound to be disputed by China upon the strength of the new agreement with Russia is the policing of the railway zone. Under the old treaty between the two countries, the Russian Government enjoyed the right of stationing guards along the Russian lines in Manchuria

within the maximum of fifteen to the kilometre. When Japan took over a section of the Russian lines as the result of the peace treaty of Portsmouth, she naturally secured the right of policing the newly acquired railway. Now that the Soviet has repudiated the old treaties and has signified its intention to hand over to China the policing of the railway zone, Japan will sooner or later be forced to follow Russia's example. The Chino-Japanese treaty of 1905 provides: "When tranquillity shall have been established in Manchuria, and China shall have become herself capable of affording full protection to the lives and property of foreigners, Japan will withdraw her railway guards simultaneously with Russia."

Japan may argue that China is not yet ready to protect foreign lives and property, as witness the Lin-cheng incident in which foreigners were kidnapped and held for ransom by the Shantung bandits, but such arguments will never convince the Chinese. China has set her mind upon recovering all rights, whether or not she is prepared to fulfill the duties which the powers expect her to fulfill. In this situation

Japan stands at the crossroads. Should she feel that the dictates of far-seeing statesmanship require a policy of close friendship with her immediate neighbors, whose destinies are bound up with her own, Japan would go a long way in meeting China's wishes. The present seems particularly opportune for Japan to inaugurate such a new policy. The adoption of an all-embracing Asiatic exclusion law by the United States Congress has awakened to a remarkable extent a feeling of racial solidarity among the peoples of the Far East, and particularly among the Chinese and Japanese. There is no doubt that the exclusion law has lowered the barrier between China and Japan—a barrier which had already been somewhat weakened by the termination of the Anglo-Japanese alliance. Even the "national humiliation day," which was set by China for May 25 to perpetuate the memory of the agreements based upon Japan's famous "twenty-one demands," was observed rather perfunctorily this year. From this standpoint the United States Congress deserves gratitude rather than censure on the part of Japanese critics.



All these bags contain beans, now the leading product of Manchuria. This is one result of Japanese encouragement to the farmers

Text of the Russo-Chinese Agreement

The full text of the agreement between Soviet Russia and China, which was ratified by the Chinese Government June 17, 1924, is as follows:

AGREEMENT ON GENERAL PRINCIPLES FOR THE SETTLEMENT OF THE QUESTIONS BETWEEN THE REPUBLIC OF CHINA AND THE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS.

The Republic of China and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, desiring to re-establish normal relations with each other, have agreed to conclude an agreement on general principles for the settlement of the questions between the two countries, and have to that end named as their plenipotentiaries, that is to say:

His Excellency the President of the Republic of China: VI Kyuin Wellington Koo;

The Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics: Lev Mikhailovitch Karakhan;

Who, having communicated to each other their respective full powers, found to be in good and due form, have agreed upon the following articles:

Article 1—Immediately upon the signing of the present agreement, the normal diplomatic and consular relations between the two contracting parties shall be re-established.

The Government of the Republic of China agrees to take the necessary steps to transfer to the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics the legation and consular buildings formerly belonging to the Czarist Government.

Article 2—The Governments of the two contracting parties agree to hold, within one month after the agreement is signed, a conference which shall conclude and carry out detailed arrangements relative to the questions in accordance with the principles as provided in the following articles.

Such detailed arrangements shall be completed as soon as possible, and, in any case, not later than six months from the date of the opening of the conference as provided in the preceding paragraph.

Article 3—The Governments of the two contracting parties agree to annul at the conference as provided in the preceding Article 2 conventions, treaties, agreements, protocols, contracts, &c., concluded between the Government of China and the Czarist Government and to replace them with new treaties, agreements, &c., on the basis of equality, reciprocity and justice, as well as of the spirit of the declarations of the Soviet Government of the years of 1919 and 1920.

Article 4—The Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, in accordance with its policy and declarations of 1919 and 1920, declares that all treaties, agreements, &c., concluded between the former Czarist Government and any third party or parties affecting the sovereign rights or interests of China are null and void.

The Governments of both contracting parties declare that in the future neither Government will conclude any treaties or agreements which prejudice the sovereign rights or interests of either contracting party.

Article 5—The Government of the Union of

Soviet Socialist Republics recognizes that Outer Mongolia is an integral part of the Republic of China and respects China's sovereignty therein.

The Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics declares that as soon as the questions of the withdrawal of all the troops of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics from Outer Mongolia, namely, as to the time-limit of the withdrawal of such troops and the measures to be adopted in the interests of the safety of the frontiers, are agreed upon at the conference as provided in Article 2 of the present agreement, it will effect the complete withdrawal of all the troops of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics from Outer Mongolia.

Article 6—The Governments of the two contracting parties mutually pledge themselves not to permit, within their respective territories, the existence and/or activities of any organization or group whose aim is to struggle by acts of violence against the Government of either contracting party.

The Governments of the two contracting parties further pledge themselves not to engage in propaganda directed against the political and social systems of either contracting party.

Article 7—The Governments of the two contracting parties agree to redemarcate their national boundaries at the conference as provided in Article 2 of the present agreement, and pending redemarcation, to maintain the present boundaries.

Article 8—The Governments of the two contracting parties agree to regulate at the forementioned conference the questions relating to the navigation of rivers, lakes and other bodies of water which are common to their respective frontiers, on the basis of equality and reciprocity.

Article 9—The Governments of the two contracting parties agree to settle at the aforementioned conference the question of the Chinese Eastern Railway in conformity with the principles as hereinafter provided:

(1) The Governments of the two contracting parties declare that the Chinese Eastern Railway is a purely commercial enterprise.

The Governments of the two contracting parties mutually declare that, with the exception of matters pertaining to the business operations, which are under the direct control of the Chinese Eastern Railway, all other matters affecting the rights of the National and Local Governments of the Republic of China, such as judicial matters, matters relating to civil administration, military administration, police, municipal Government, taxation and landed property (with the exception of lands required by said railway), shall be administered by the Chinese authorities.

(2) The Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics agrees to the redemption by the Government of the Republic of China, with Chinese capital, of the Chinese Eastern Railway, as well as all appurtenant properties, and to the transfer to China of all shares and bonds of the said railway.

(3) The Governments of the two contracting parties shall settle at the conference, as provided in Article 2 of the present agreement, the amount and conditions governing the re-

demption, as well as the procedure for the transfer of the Chinese Eastern Railway.

(4) The Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics agrees to be responsible for the entire claims of the shareholders, bondholders and creditors of the Chinese Eastern Railway incurred prior to the Revolution of March 9, 1917.

(5) The Governments of the two contracting parties mutually agree that the future of the Chinese Eastern Railway shall be determined by the Republic of China and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics to the exclusion of any third party or parties.

(6) The Governments of the two contracting parties agree to draw up an arrangement for the provisional management of this Chinese Eastern Railway pending the settlement of the question as provided under section (3) of the present Article.

(7) Until the various questions relating to the Chinese Eastern Railway are settled at the conference as provided in Article 2 of the present agreement, the rights of the two Governments arising out of the contract of Aug. 27-Sept. 8, 1896, for the construction and operation of the Chinese Eastern Railway, which do not conflict with the present agreement for the provisional management of the said railway and which do not prejudice China's rights of sovereignty, shall be maintained.

Article 10—The Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics agrees to renounce the special rights and privileges relating to all concessions in any part of China acquired by the Czarist Government under various conventions, treaties, agreements, &c.



V. K. WELLINGTON KOO
Chinese Minister of Foreign Affairs and
Acting Premier



Keystone

L. M. KARAKHAN
Russian Ambassador to China

Article 11—The Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics agrees to renounce the Russian portion of the Boxer Indemnity.

Article 12—The Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics agrees to relinquish the rights of extraterritoriality and consular jurisdiction.

Article 13—The Governments of the two contracting parties agree to draw up simultaneously with the conclusion of a Commercial Treaty at the conference as provided in Article 2 of the present agreement a customs tariff for the two contracting parties in accordance with the principles of equality and reciprocity.

Article 14—The Governments of the two contracting parties agree to discuss at the aforementioned conference the questions relating to the claims for the compensation of losses.

Article 15—The present agreement shall come into effect from the date of signature.

In witness whereof the respective Plenipotentiaries have signed the agreement in duplicate in the English language and have affixed thereto their seals.

Done at the City of Peking this 31st day of the fifth month of the 13th year of the Republic of China, which is the 31st day of May, one thousand nine hundred and twenty-four.

(Seal) V. K. WELLINGTON KOO,
(Seal) L. M. KARAKHAN.

British Barriers Against the Japanese

By RAYMOND LESLIE BUELL

Department of Government, Harvard University

IN justifying the exclusion provision directed against the Japanese in the Immigration act of 1924, Congress held up the Japanese policy of the British Empire to support what it regarded as similar action by the United States. In the famous House Report No. 350, the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization made this statement:

Great Britain many years ago made a treaty with her ally, Japan, whereby the nationals of Japan were to have favored consideration for residence and citizenship in all the Dominions of the Empire; but with the proviso that any Dominion could reject this arrangement by notice before that treaty became effective.

South Africa, Australia and New Zealand promptly gave the necessary notice and provided by various methods for absolute exclusion of Japanese immigration, an action which Japan has never protested. Canada failed to take similar action, but later sought to remedy the omission by a gentlemen's agreement with Japan, limiting yearly admission from Japan to 400. This agreement has not worked satisfactorily in Canada, and the Dominion Parliament, in May, 1922, requested the Government to take immediate action looking to excluding further Oriental immigration.

With all respect to the members of the House committee, this statement is full of gross errors. The treaty to which the committee refers was signed in 1894, but Australia was not federated until 1901 and South Africa until 1909.

It was in the '90s that the Japanese first became a problem to the British territories in the Pacific. In 1896 a Premiers' conference was held in Australia, at that time still divided into a number of separate colonies, at which it was decided to extend the anti-Chinese laws to the Japanese. The British Government, however, refused to sanction this step, and at the Colonial Conference in 1897 the late Joseph Chamberlain, then Colonial Secretary in the British Cabinet, said:

I wish to say that her Majesty's Government thoroughly appreciate the object and the needs of the colonies in dealing with this matter. We quite sympathize with the determination of the white inhabitants of these colonies, which are in comparatively close proximity to millions and hundreds of millions of Asiatics, that there shall not be an influx of people alien in civilization, alien in religion, alien in customs. * * * But we ask you also to bear in mind the traditions of the empire, which makes no distinction in favor of or against race or color; and to exclude, by reason of their color or by reason of their race, all her Majesty's Indian subjects, or even all Asiatics, would be an act so offensive to those peoples that it would be most painful, I am quite certain, to her Majesty to have to sanction it.

Chamberlain suggested that exactly the same end could be accomplished by a dictation test, first employed by the Colony of Natal in 1894. In a dispatch to the Governments of the Australian colonies, dated Oct. 20, 1897, he said that M. Kato, the Japanese Minister, would be satisfied with the dictation test as a method of excluding Japanese, since it was not openly discriminating. As a result, Australia passed the Immigration act of 1901, which prohibited the entrance of any person into the Commonwealth who failed to write out at dictation a passage of fifty words in "any European language" as directed by an officer. In 1905 the words "any European language" were replaced by "any prescribed language," so as to remove still further any discriminatory features. This act is so administered, however, that a difficult language test is applied only to Asiatics, preventing their admission; but not to Europeans. In 1904 correspondence was exchanged between Japan and Australia, in which Australia agreed to exempt from the dictation test such classes as merchants, students and travelers, after which an amendment to the Immigration act was passed authorizing the Government to

make "gentlemen's agreements" with foreign countries in this respect. In 1908 New Zealand adopted an Immigration Restriction act, also containing the dictation test, which, however, was eliminated from the Immigration act of 1920. This latter act gives the Governor General power to exclude any undesirables by Order in Council.

Whereas there are only 5,261 Japanese in Australia and very few at all in New Zealand, there are nearly 18,000 in Canada, where they constitute 0.24 per cent. of the total population, compared with 0.11 per cent. of the population in the United States. Most of the Japanese population in Canada, as in the United States, is concentrated on the Pacific Coast. A number of anti-Japanese outbreaks have occurred in British Columbia, beginning in 1897, some of which, it appears, have been stimulated by Californian agitators. Following these outbreaks the Legislature of British Columbia attempted to enact more than a dozen anti-Japanese bills, but the British authorities always set these bills aside, following the com-

plaint of the Japanese officials, because of their discriminatory nature.

As a result of the anti-Japanese outbreaks in British Columbia the Japanese Government in 1900 voluntarily attempted to keep her laborers at home. This first "gentlemen's agreement" deterred the Canadian Government from taking further action at that time. The situation was also complicated by the Treaty of Commerce and Navigation signed by Great Britain and Japan on July 16, 1894, which gave the Japanese "full liberty to enter, travel and reside" in the British Empire, and also most favored nation treatment in regard to the acquisition of real estate, for whatever purpose, subject to the condition that British subjects be given the same treatment in Japan. This treaty, however, did not apply to the Dominions and certain other British possessions unless notice of accession was given Japan within two years. Newfoundland, Natal and Queensland (one of the Australian colonies) signified their wish to adhere to the convention, the last named with certain reservations.



International

Tokio University students taking a prominent part in the demonstration on July 1, 1924, against the American Immigration Exclusion act

The Canadian Government stated that before adhering to the treaty it desired a stipulation reserving the right to pass immigration legislation, as was done in the treaty between Japan and the United States in 1894, and also defining the word "laborer" to include "artisan." After negotiations at Tokio the Japanese Government finally agreed that Canada might adhere upon these terms, but by this time the Canadian Government had decided not to adhere at all. With the advent of a new Government, however, Canada for commercial reasons changed her mind. But when the British authorities in London asked if Canada wished to adhere with the reservations originally mentioned, the Canadian Government decided that, inasmuch as Japan was already voluntarily restricting emigration, these reservations were unnecessary and that Canada would adhere "absolutely and without reserve." As the time had elapsed for adhesion, a supplementary convention was signed in Tokio on Jan. 31, 1906, bringing Canada within the terms of the commercial treaty of 1894, and the treaty itself was approved by the Canadian Parliament by an act of Jan. 30, 1907.

Meanwhile the voluntary limitation on emigration to Canada had broken down, partly because of the demands of great railway companies for construction labor. Emigration increased to such an extent that the Canadian Government dispatched Rodolphe Lemieux, Minister of Labor, to Tokio for the purpose of bringing about a diplomatic settlement. Upon the basis of these negotiations a Canadian "gentlemen's agreement" was drawn up.

On Dec. 23, 1907, T. Hayashi, the Japanese Foreign Minister, dispatched a letter to M. Lemieux, stating that it was not the intention of the Japanese Government to insist upon the enjoyment of all its rights under the treaty of 1894 "when that would involve disregard of special conditions which may prevail in Canada from time to time." Because of the riots in British Columbia, the Japanese Government would

take "efficient means" to restrict emigration to Canada. This letter was followed by two sets of regulations which provided that Japan would issue passports only to (1) previous Japanese residents of Canada and their wives and children, (2) domestic and agricultural laborers numbering not more than 400 annually, and (3) certain contract emigrants.

As a result of Japan's efforts to abolish extraterritoriality, a new treaty was negotiated with Great Britain in 1911 supplanting the old treaty of 1894. Article I. of this treaty again gave "the subjects of each of the High Contracting Parties" full liberty to enter, travel and reside in the territories of the other, and Article XXVI. provided that the treaty did not apply to the Dominions and other British possessions unless notice of adhesion had been given within two years. The Canadian Government did not wish to adhere to this agreement unreservedly as it had done in the case of the treaty of 1894. A year previously—in 1910—the Canadian Parliament had passed an immigration act which gave the Governor General power to exclude whatever racial groups he thought fit. On its face, the act was non-discriminatory, but it could be administered so as to keep out peoples of one race and not another. The Canadian Government wrote to M. Nakamura, the Japanese Consul General at Ottawa, stating that Canada would adhere to the treaty subject to the provision that the treaty would not be deemed to repeal any provision of this Immigration act of 1910. The Japanese Consul General replied that Japan did not object to this proposition "since it felt assured that the immigration act of Canada of 1910 being applicable, as stated in your note, to the immigration of aliens into the Dominion of Canada from all countries including the British Empire itself, no discrimination will be made against Japanese subjects in this respect." Sir Robert Borden, the Canadian Prime Minister, confirmed this understanding, and the Canadian Parliament passed the Japanese Treaty act of 1913, acceding



KIJURO SHIDEHARA

The new Japanese Minister of Foreign Affairs; formerly Ambassador to the United States

to the treaty subject to the proviso that nothing in it "shall be deemed to repeal or affect any of the provisions of the immigration act."

A debate took place in the Canadian House of Commons in 1913 as to the exact meaning of the Borden-Kakamura correspondence. There was a disposition on the part of some members to believe that Japanese diplomacy had outwitted the Canadian Prime Minister, since the Japanese note seemed to interpret the Canadian reservation to mean that the act should never be administered against Japanese any more than against British subjects. Whether or not Japan won a diplomatic triumph out of this play of words, it is extremely doubtful that Canada would ever exclude the Japanese by name as long as the "gentlemen's agreement" was in operation. At any rate, the passage of the Japanese Treaty Act was followed by a declaration similar to the one which accompanied the treaty between Japan and

the United States, in which it was stated that the Japanese Government was fully prepared and intended "to maintain with equal effectiveness the limitation and control which they have since 1908 exercised in the regulation of emigration from Japan to Canada."

Attacks have been launched against the "gentlemen's agreement" in Canada just as attacks were launched against the "gentlemen's agreement" in the United States. But this method of exclusion has been vigorously defended by Canadian Ministers in statements before the House of Commons in 1913, 1919, and 1922. In April, 1919, Mr. Calder, Minister of the Interior, declared that there were fewer Japanese in Canada in 1919 than in 1914. In May, 1922, Prime Minister Mackenzie King said that the Japanese Government "has been wholly honorable" in carrying out the agreement. He added:

The word "exclusion" in regard to these matters of immigration has come to have a meaning that to the peoples of the Orient is most offensive. If you read the debates that have taken place in the different Imperial Conferences, in the Peace Conference at Versailles, in the Conference at Washington, and in conferences which my right honorable friend attended of the Premiers of the different countries, you will discover that wherever the different nations have come together to deal with this question in any of its forms, they have been careful to avoid in any formal resolution the use of the word "exclusion," and I say without fear of contradiction that there is not today as regards any part of the British Empire—South Africa, Australia, New Zealand, or any other part—any exclusion act so termed, nor do I know of any exclusion act on the part of any nation in the world. That is not a matter of chance happening. That has been the result of very careful thought and deliberation upon the consequences of using particular words where those words are known to have an offensive meaning in the minds of other people upon whom they may appear to reflect.

The British Columbia Legislature on Nov. 1, 1921, passed a resolution requesting an amendment to the Immigration act so as to "totally restrict" as nearly as possible Asiatic immigration. This was followed by a vigorous debate in the Canadian Parliament in May, 1922, which adopted the following resolution by a vote of 130 to 36:

That, in the opinion of this House, the immigration of Oriental aliens and their rapid multiplication is becoming a serious menace to living conditions, particularly on the Pacific Coast, and to the future

of the country in general, and the Government should take immediate action with a view to securing the effective restriction of future immigration of this type.

The original resolution used "exclusion" instead of "effective restriction." The latter words were insisted upon by the Mackenzie King Cabinet before accepting the amended resolution. Unlike the United States State Department, which allowed the Japanese question in this country to drift along until the storm broke in April, 1924, the Canadian Government now entered into negotiations with Japan for a revision of the "gentlemen's agreement." On March 19, 1924, the Prime Minister laid correspondence before the Canadian House of Commons showing that the "gentlemen's agreement" had been revised so that the number of Japanese emigrants to Canada as household servants and agricultural laborers was reduced from 400 to 150 annually.

In Canada Japanese are allowed to acquire real property, not only under the terms of the most-favored-nation clause of the treaty of 1911, but also under Article 17 of the Naturalization act of 1914. In 1921 British Columbia passed a law which provided that no Japanese should be employed in connection with Government contracts, leases and concessions, but when this law came before the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council it decided, on Oct. 18, 1923, that the law violated the treaty of 1911 and was therefore void. Japanese may become citizens in Canada upon the same basis as any other alien. Out of 17,700 Japanese in Canada, 11,500 are Canadian British subjects either by naturalization or by birth. Likewise in New Zealand, Japanese may acquire citizenship and acquire land upon the same basis as other aliens.

The British Empire and the United States have been confronted with essentially the same problem of excluding Japanese immigrants who, because of their superior energies and lower standards of living and alien ideals, would compete unfairly with workingmen at home. The British Empire—or rather the British self-governing Dominions that

have been confronted with that problem—has solved it after negotiations with Japan and by means of which, though they effectually exclude Japanese, do not irritate the racial sensibilities of the Japanese people. The United States, on the other hand, is the only country in the world to enact a direct exclusion law. It is true that the act of 1924 excludes all aliens ineligible for citizenship, but the Chinese and Hindus are already excluded by other legislation, and the Japanese especially resent being classed with the barbarous tribes of Central Asia or even with the ryots of India, in view of the tremendous strides by which the Japanese nation has outstripped other Asiatic peoples since 1854. It is an unpleasant fact that the United States treats Japanese residents much worse than any other country in the world—with the possible exception of Australia—in regard to both citizenship and the acquisition of property. As long as these conditions exist the friendship between Japan and the United States, upon which the future of the Pacific depends, can never be real.

Among diplomats addicted to the doctrine of the status quo there is a disposition to regard all temporarily settled diplomatic controversies as "closed incidents," whether they are settled rightly or wrongly. In the United States the Government apparently now regards the passage of the exclusion act of 1924 as "a law of the Medes and Persians, which altereth not." Admittedly, it will be difficult, if not impossible, to induce Congress to repeal this law, but there is another means which, if followed two years ago by the State Department, would have prevented this ugly situation from arising, and that is by treaty. At any time the State Department may negotiate a treaty with Japan providing for exclusion. This treaty could remove the whole factor of discrimination simply by providing for the reciprocal exclusion of Americans, with the exception of certain classes, from Japan and, similarly, of Japanese from America. Such a treaty would give us the same power

to enforce exclusion as does a statute, and would automatically set aside all previous acts of Congress with which it conflicted. It would also insure the cooperation of the Japanese Government in enforcing exclusion—cooperation which will be absolutely necessary if smuggling from South America and Mexico is to be prohibited.

When the immigration bill of 1924 was in conference, President Coolidge originally attempted to secure the insertion of a provision exempting from the exclusion clause nationals of countries "with which the United States, after the enactment of this act, shall have entered into treaties by and with the advice and consent of the Senate for the restriction of immigration." As the President already may negotiate these treaties, which would immediately set aside a contradictory act, it is difficult to see the purpose of this request. It was rejected for two reasons: (1) because of the argument that immigration treaties would be "unconstitutional" since immigration is a "domestic" matter; (2) because the control of immigration would be transferred to the Senate and President from the Senate and House. The first argument that an immigration treaty would be unconstitutional is baseless. The Constitution gives Congress power to regulate commerce, yet dozens of treaties of com-

merce and navigation have been made. Immigration is but a branch of foreign commerce which may be similarly the subject of a treaty. In a Japanese case decided in 1891, the Supreme Court of the United States held that the power to control immigration was vested in the Federal Government and could "be exercised either through treaties made by the President and Senate or through statutes enacted by Congress." In 1880 and 1894 the United States entered into two immigration treaties with China, which were ruled upon in dozens of cases by the Supreme Court.

In view of the hostility of the last Congress to President Coolidge, who may understand why it discarded the treaty suggestion. But any likelihood lest the power of the House over immigration should be usurped by a treaty could be obviated by a provision in the treaty simply stating that the appropriate legislative bodies in each country shall enact legislation putting the principle of exclusion into force. Whatever might be the terminology employed, an exclusion treaty is the only instrument by which the ground lost by the passage of the Exclusion act can be regained. It is, moreover, a method which, according to Ambassador Woods, in a statement upon his return to this country, Japan would hasten to approve.



Discontent in Alsace-Lorraine

By SISLEY HUDDLESTON

British Newspaper Correspondent in Paris

UNDOUBTEDLY a serious position is threatened in Alsace-Lorraine, the provinces which were restored to France by the Treaty of Versailles, if the Radical Party in the French Chamber of Deputies insist upon a drastic change of the régime under which the inhabitants now live and under which they lived during the half century of German rule. The joy with which they returned to France is being changed into dismay. Some of the inhabitants talk openly of revolt, expressed in no matter what form. Active resistance there could not be, though there are observers in Alsace-Lorraine who go so far as to prophesy the most tragic happenings. There would at any rate be passive resistance and a revulsion of feeling in the restored provinces against France.

The reason for this unfortunate state of affairs is simple. Alsace-Lorraine under German administration enjoyed privileges which would not be enjoyed under French administration if the provinces were once assimilated in the full sense. Since the restoration France has been content to allow Alsace-Lorraine to continue to exercise the privileges possessed when the provinces were regarded as German. Obviously an end must sooner or later be made of the anomaly of permitting French territories to live under laws which are not French, but German. From the beginning it was inevitable that difficulties would arise the moment it was decided to Frenchify Alsace-Lorraine. The inhabitants of these provinces, however genuine may be their regard for France, naturally desire to retain their customs. For nearly fifty years Alsace-Lorraine owed allegiance to Germany. The language spoken is chiefly German. In spite of this the population kept its sympathies with France. If a plebiscite had been held

at the moment of the peace conference there is no doubt that the people would have voted in overwhelming numbers for the adoption of French nationality. Nobody who has even the most superficial acquaintance with them could doubt their fundamental loyalty to France. This is in itself a remarkable fact, a striking proof that it is almost impossible to change the nationalist sentiment of a people in these days. In the distant past Germany would surely have absorbed Alsace-Lorraine and the people would have become perfectly good German citizens. But nowadays acquisition by conquest is impossible in any permanent sense, and the Alsace-Lorrainers chafed under German rule and resumed their French nationality amid scenes of real rejoicing.

The drama then began. On the one side it was inevitable that there should be a desire to bring Alsace-Lorraine under purely French administration and to apply French laws—the laws which prevail in the rest of France. On the other side there was the natural reluctance of a people who had laws which in some respects were better than the French laws, or at least suited them better, to allow them to be changed. They were willing to be French, but they were not willing to adopt the French laws suddenly, completely and finally. They pleaded that they had habits and traditions which could not be broken without considerable inconvenience and even suffering. The French, understanding that they should not disturb the existing conditions in Alsace-Lorraine more than was absolutely necessary, agreed that there should be a separate administration and appointed a Commissioner General. Promises were made that there would always be shown the greatest respect for the traditions and the practices of the people who had

returned to the French fold. Nevertheless it was certain that sooner or later some French Government would proceed to "assimilate" Alsace-Lorraine.

RADICAL ANTI-CLERICALISM

The system of a separate administration with separate laws was not one that could last. In the nature of things it was a temporary method adopted during a period of transition. Mistakes were made in endeavoring to hasten the process even by the more conservative Governments which followed the armistice. In their excessive nationalist zeal, believing as they did that no laws could be better than French laws and that to bring the people of Alsace-Lorraine under them would not be a hardship but a benefit which would be conferred, they were often led astray. On the whole they succeeded in preserving the good-will of the Alsace-Lorrainers, although certain economic changes which were made two years ago were resented. The Nationalist Governments were more reluctant to interfere with the Alsace-Lorraine régime, in spite of their Nationalism, because Alsace-Lorraine enjoyed religious privileges which the rest of France did not enjoy, but which the Nationalist Party for the most part would have liked to restore in France. Roman Catholicism found its political stronghold in France in the Nationalist Party. While the Radicals are anti-Clerical, the Nationalists may be regarded as Clerical.

The whole effort of the post-war Governments in France until Herriot became Prime Minister was to establish better relations with the Vatican and to relax the laws which governed the so-called congregations—that is to say, religious bodies—in France. An Ambassador was sent to the Vatican, and a Nuncio was sent from Rome to Paris. The congregations which had been excluded by the laws of a generation ago began to return with impunity. The tendency of France was undoubtedly Romeward. Now, since Alsace-Lorraine has a population that is essentially

Catholic, and as the anti-Catholic laws of France did not apply to Alsace-Lorraine, it was clearly the business of the Nationalists to leave Alsace-Lorraine undisturbed. This was, as already stated, the general policy for nearly six years, in spite of the blunders which were on occasion made.

When the Radicals came into power there was at once a real Alsace-Lorraine question. In the first place, the Radicals were pledged to abolish the Ambassadorship at the Vatican and to apply severely the laws relating to the congregations. The religious war which seemed to have ended in France was to be renewed. Among the French people there is comparatively little Catholic or anti-Catholic feeling. The old quarrels were forgotten by the masses; they were remembered chiefly by the politicians. The feud of former days for the politicians was not over, and the Radicals, who have been dubbed by their adversaries "mangeurs de curés" (eaters of priests), put in their program the problem at the Vatican and of the congregations. Moreover, they were pushed on by the Socialists, who, speaking broadly, are free-thinkers and anti-religious. Whether the Radicals can carry out their program is another matter, but the declaration of war, as it was understood, was certainly not calculated to predispose the people of Alsace-Lorraine, who are in large proportion much more piously Catholic than the rest of France, in favor of the Radical Government. So far, although the Alsace-Lorrainers had apprehensions, they had no specific cause for alarm. That specific cause, as apart from the general anti-Catholic tendency of the Government, was to be found in M. Herriot's Ministerial declaration:

The Government is persuaded that it will interpret faithfully the wishes of the dear populations at last restored to France by hastening the day on which will be effaced the last differences between the legislation in the recovered departments and the rest of the territory of the republic. With that purpose it will abolish the office of Commissioner General and will prepare measures which will permit, while respecting the acquired situation and the material and moral interests of the population, the introduction in Alsace and Lorraine of the entire republican legislation.

SECULARIST DEMANDS

For many Radicals, it should be explained, the word "republican" is synonymous with secular, and particularly in regard to the schools do the Radicals contend that the republican laws must favor secular education. The Catholics, who demand more laxity, are regarded as anti-republican in their conceptions. At any rate, M. Herriot's declaration, although not very clear, caused a considerable outcry in Alsace-Lorraine, where it was understood that the régime—and particularly the scholastic régime—was menaced. Nor does it appear to be certain that the Government, to use its own expression, was faithfully interpreting the wishes of the "dear populations at last restored to France" by hastening the day when the last differences between the legislation of the recovered departments and the rest of the territory of the republic should be effaced. There is considerable evidence that the effacement of these differences is the last thing that the Alsace-Lorraine populations desire. In view of the protests which at once began to be heard, M. Herriot completed his declaration by the following explanations:

I would like to complete, on a subject which is very delicate—that is to say, the question of Alsace—the explanations which I have already given. I would ask my colleagues to be patient until the moment when a debate can be instituted upon this subject, but I cannot wait for that moment to state that in the Ministerial declaration there was something missing, at least in that which concerns persons; and that I reproach myself, I admit, for not having rendered to the men who during these last years have played an essential rôle in Alsace the homage which they had the right to expect from me, I render that homage now. Having spoken of our intention to introduce the republican legislation completely in Alsace, we have been exposed to certain campaigns, and since it has been said that we had misunderstood certain French loyalties, some of them especially touching, I declare that it is not the Government that I represent which will inflict any injury, not only on the respect which these persons deserve, but upon the moral rights which they have acquired in devoting themselves to France. This applies even to the Catholic Sisters, that is to say, the teaching Sisters.

M. Herriot was reproached on the ground that this statement was far from being clear. In reply to an interruption he intimated that his particular allusion

to the Catholic Sisters was to those of Ribeauvillé. Now these Sisters, who were French, during the German domination of Alsace-Lorraine were taught how in their turn to teach French. Immediately after the armistice the girls of Alsace were taught French much more quickly than the boys, for the simple reason that, while the Sisters were ready to take up their task, the teaching of French had been forbidden in the men's teaching colleges under the German régime. There was profound emotion in France when it was known that the French authorities immediately after their official entry into Alsace were greeted by little groups of Alsatian girls brought up by the Sisters of Ribeauvillé, who sang the French national anthem, the "Marseillaise." It was revealed that the French spirit had been fostered in the schools more or less discreetly during the German occupation, and immediately after the occupation came to an end this French spirit shone forth. It would not have been surprising had the Alsace-Lorrainers been much less friendly toward the French; that they were enthusiastically pro-French was largely due to the Catholic instruction. At any rate, the most was made of these and similar incidents, and that is why Marshal Joffre, and such Frenchmen in high positions as M. Poincaré and M. Doumergue, solemnly affirmed to the Alsatians that the manners and the traditions of the provinces would be respected by the French. M. Herriot by his statement did not succeed in allaying the fears which had been aroused. There were in Parliament itself eloquent manifestations, and finally in the name of twenty-one Deputies out of twenty-four who represented the electoral Departments of the Upper Rhine, the Lower Rhine and the Moselle, M. Robert Schumann read the following declaration:

DEPUTIES' PROTEST

Apart from the general criticism that we have to formulate, we declare that we have been painfully surprised by the Government's statement which looks forward to the introduction into the recovered Departments of the whole of the re-

ligious and scholastic laws of France. The Governments which have succeeded each other since 1918 have all confirmed and solemnly reiterated the promises made during the war in the name of the French nation. We could not have expected to hear any Government set forth a program which is in formal contradiction of the programs by which have been elected seven-eighths of the representatives of the interested Departments. To pursue the realization of such a program would be not only contrary to democratic principles so often invoked in the Ministerial declaration, but would create in our region grave trouble for which we must decline all responsibility.

M. Herriot maintained that, in law, the Concordat had been abolished in Alsace and Lorraine after the war of 1870—a thesis which is hotly disputed. In more guarded language he seemed to intimate that the Republican legislation would be applied in the recovered provinces. As evidence of the state of mind that has been created in Alsace-Lorraine the following resolution adopted by a large meeting of the population in the open air at Colmar is quoted:

The Catholics of Colmar, gathered together to protest against the religious war that the present Government has declared upon them, raise their voices against the project of unchaining religious strife in Alsace and Lorraine, without taking heed of the extremely difficult political situation of France both in the interior and in the foreign domain.

They declare that the project in the most brutal fashion ignores the inalienable rights of the members of the Catholic religion and the imprescriptible rights of believing parents. They consider it as the shameful breaking of a pledge given by France to the Alsatians and Lorrainers to respect their liberties and their traditions.

They energetically demand the maintenance of the laws which governed the schools and the relations between the Church and the State at the moment of their return to France. They demand the withdrawal of the teaching personnel and the withdrawal of the scholastic books which do not respond to the spirit of the confessional schools. This personnel and these books have been surreptitiously introduced in the schools by the educational authorities.

They demand, in place of the decisions of certain municipal councils which are in flagrant opposition with the will of the parents, to be allowed to make known what is the will of the people in the questions which concern the Church and the schools.

They declare that they are firmly resolved to use all the means which are in their power to obtain the immediate realization of their claims, and are resolved to defend with an inflexible energy their rights, their liberties and their traditions.

Even the Radical journals in France, while denouncing such language, admit that the agitation is dangerous. They see in such resolutions a veritable provo-

cation to civil war; they call upon the Government to suppress such meetings and such resolutions, but the more responsible Radicals hesitate before antagonizing further the populations of the recovered provinces. It is all very well to cry that the Republic is one and indivisible, but its unity cannot be realized suddenly, unless the authorities are indeed prepared to govern ruthlessly and to awaken the hostility of the people who practice the Catholic faith in the German language, and who are accustomed to have their children brought up in religious schools. It is indeed possible that the whole problem has been shelved. In the Senate General Bourgeois put a number of questions to the Prime Minister with regard to the application of the secular laws in Alsace. He laid stress upon the emotion caused by the Ministerial declaration, and asked for assurances that the religious institutions and the scholastic régime would not be interfered with. The Prime Minister, who had become aware of the difficulties, responded that the suppression of the Commissariat Général had been announced by preceding Governments, and therefore no particular significance should be attached to this proposed step. All that it meant was that the various services of Alsace-Lorraine would be in future placed under the direct control of the Paris Government—a mere centralization of power. These services would be, he said, directed by a high functionary who would be charged with studying on the spot with the greatest possible care the problems which had arisen, and to prepare projects relative to the recovered Departments. Any project tending to modify the actual status of Alsace-Lorraine would be submitted to the French Parliament. If this statement is to be taken literally, it would appear that the Government has dropped the idea of any early alteration of the laws. An inquiry will take some time, and before any bill based upon this inquiry is passed through Parliament much water will have run under the bridges of the Seine.

FREE THINKERS' COMPLAINT

It is necessary to consider in more detail the actual educational régime in Alsace and Lorraine. Under the German laws which apply to these regions the children are divided into three categories and attend three different kinds of schools. There are the Catholic schools, the Protestant schools and the Jewish schools. A Protestant child is not admitted into a Catholic school or into a Jewish school. This means that every parent has to declare his religion, and his child has to be educated under a religious system of instruction. Now since the choice is given, it may be thought that there is no special hardship, but the Radicals and the Socialists point out that the children of free thinkers—children who have not been baptized—have no special schools which they can attend. Theoretically, all the inhabitants of Alsace and Lorraine must have a religion. That is the official conception, and under the German laws which prevail nobody is authorized to affirm himself without religious views. The French Radicals and Socialists, however, attach great importance to liberty of thought. They regard it as a tremendous grievance that Alsations and Lorrainers who are free thinkers, or who do not belong to one of the three creeds for which provision is made, and the French free thinkers who may have settled in Alsace-Lorraine, should be obliged to choose a religion for their

children, if those children are to be educated in the schools.

Religious instruction is in the curriculum and is given in the ordinary hours of school attendance. It is obligatory. Moreover, it is given—and this is a point which greatly concerns the French advocates of liberty—by the teacher himself. This implies that the teacher in Alsace-Lorraine is himself obliged to choose between the three religions. He is placed under the surveillance of a minister of the cult, who often visits the school. These ministers—and this is specially reproached against the Catholics—not only supervise the religious instruction but intervene in the general education of the child. Sometimes they forbid the use of books which contain extracts from Michelet, Renan or Victor Hugo. One cannot be a teacher in Alsace-Lorraine if one is a free thinker. The training schools are, say the French, confessionals. The candidates for the teaching profession must attend the religious services, and must pass a special examination before a board on which a Bishop is represented. It is urged that it is not true to pretend that either the parents or the teachers have any freedom of conscience. They have merely a choice between three creeds, none of which may commend itself to the parents or to the teachers. Thus the French Radicals demand that there shall be no religious compulsion, that the secular laws which prevail in the rest of France shall be applied to Alsace-Lorraine.



The Hohenzollerns Under the German Republic

By HENRY D. THOMASON

Lieutenant Colonel, U. S. A. (Retired), Who In Several Years' Residence at Potsdam Became Intimate With the Entire Circle of the Hohenzollern Family

THE famous picture of the German Kaiser and his six sons received world-wide circulation shortly before the outbreak of the World War, showing Wilhelm II., accompanied by his sons, marching down Unter den Linden, while cheering crowds lined both sides of the then brilliant Berlin's show street. At that time few monarchs possessed more autocratic power than Wilhelm; few royal households even approached the grandeur and pomp that obtained in the households of the Kaiser and his princely sons. Each had his castles, large retinue of officials and retainers, and the enormous expenses of the whole pageant were cheerfully borne by the enthusiastic taxpayer. The Emperor lived regally in his palaces at Berlin, Potsdam and other places; the Crown Prince likewise, in his Berlin and Potsdam residences, while the other members of the family were established in palatial domiciles, all attended with pomp, ceremony and glory with accompanying homage and power. This was ten years ago.

The Emperor, a despised exile still clinging to the doctrine of the divine right of kings (with himself as the "chosen of God"), is today a prisoner in his relatively modest domicile in the little village of Doorn, Holland. His loyal household retainers are few. His "Hofmarschall" (Majordomo) is an officer of the Netherlands Government; all male servants from the butler down are Dutch citizens who with the Hofmarschall have police powers both for

the protection of the former Emperor and for control over his movements.

Thus today lives the man who was once the head of the mighty German Empire, its Supreme War Lord and Commander-in-Chief of its armies and navies, whose word was law to 70,000,000 subjects. This is the man now commonly referred to as "the digger of 10,000,000 graves"; the man who is accused of deserting his post and ignominiously fleeing from the head of his armies on Nov. 9, 1918, for fear of injury to his royal person, thereby sacrificing the respect of friend and foe alike; the man who later added to his unpopularity by his second marriage.

On a hill near Binz, in the north of Germany, overlooking the Baltic, stands a monument to Wilhelm II. It is a bas relief of the former monarch, and upon it are inscribed these words: "To Wilhelm, Ruler of Seas, Master of Armies, this ancient stone pays homage." A leading German paper last Summer suggested that the inscription be changed, and the words "To Wilhelm the Brilliant Windbag and Flying Dutchman" be substituted. To such depths has this mighty one fallen.

In contrast with the ex-Kaiser, who at Doorn House still lives in comparative comfort and luxury and with some semblance of court etiquette, his eldest son and heir to the head of the House of Hohenzollern, the former Crown Prince Wilhelm, led a very different existence until his return in November, 1923, to Upper Silesia. Before December, 1918, few persons outside the Netherlands

were aware that there existed such a place as the Island of Wieringen. Then, suddenly, the whole world learned of its existence, because this lonely and isolated spot in the Zuyder Zee had been designated by the Netherlands Government as the abode of the exiled Crown Prince of Prussia. For five long years it was his home. Instead of commanding mighty hosts and being everywhere the recipient of homage and attention, he lived in exile, attended only by an aide de camp in the plain little parsonage of Osterland, one of the three small villages on the island, the combined population of which approximates but 3,000 souls, made up of simple tillers of the soil, sheep raisers and fishermen.

The parsonage in which the Crown Prince lived is a plain little structure, without the least suggestion of a royal residence, although its occupant humorously referred to it as "my castle." On the ground floor was a living and dining room; upstairs a plainly furnished bedroom, to which a bathroom had been added. All these were reserved for the personal use of the royal exile. The furnishings of the living and dining rooms were enhanced by a few luxurious pieces sent from Doorn and Potsdam, but the rooms were so small that no elaborate furnishing was practicable; a life-size portrait of the late Empress filled almost the entire space of one wall. Two more rooms and a tiny kitchen completed the Crown Prince's establishment; one of these was occupied by Major von Müldner, the Adjutant, and the other by the only household servants, a valet and his wife, the latter doing duty as cook. Food was prepared and served in German style and was simple and plain.

GRAY-HAIRED CROWN PRINCE

The Crown Prince is 42 years of age, and those who recall him before the war will scarcely believe that his hair is now gray, his face furrowed and his forehead wrinkled. At Wieringen he read much, and, considering the limited space at his disposal, his library was relatively large. Much of it was fiction by Eng-

lish and American authors; one bookshelf bore the inscription "My Works." These were from his own pen, comprising his published works on big game hunting, his *Memoirs* and *War Book*, in various translations. When his *War Book* appeared in English it received flattering comments from American reviewers, with special reference to its literary style. It was not then generally known that a talented Austrian journalist, Rosner by name, was responsible for this merit. The Crown Prince supplied all statements of fact and material.

Upon his arrival at Wieringen five years ago Friedrich Wilhelm was universally disliked, an object of suspicion and avoidance on the part of the inhabitants. His personality and tact soon overcame all this, and when he left for Germany he was universally popular with every man, woman and child on the island. He acquired a fluent conversational knowledge of Dutch, and the successive Burgomasters of the village became his warm personal friends. In order to fill in the monotony of his life, the Prince for a time acted as helper to the village blacksmith, working at the forge and bellows, and today with unconcealed pride the smith exhibits horseshoes and other iron objects turned out unaided by his royal pupil.

The Crown Prince's opportunities for indulging his taste for sports were limited at Wieringen. For a time he engaged the services of the champion boxer of Holland, who visited him regularly and who still speaks enthusiastically of the Prince's prowess as a boxer. He rode his motorcycle around the small confines of the island, weather permitting. Fond of boating, he petitioned the Dutch Government for permission to purchase a sailboat, but without success. He was a veritable prisoner, not permitted to leave the confines of the island except by permission of the Netherlands authorities, and then only when accompanied by an official custodian, usually the Burgomaster. He occasionally visited Doorn; was present there on the occasion of the funeral of the Empress, and was also one of the



The Kaiser and his six sons as they appeared on a ceremonial occasion before the war. The Kaiser is at the extreme left, and next to him is the Crown Prince

few Hohenzollerns in attendance at the subsequent marriage of his father to the Princess Hermine. On his occasional visits to Doorn the journey through the mainland was by motor car, which he was not permitted to leave, nor was he allowed to pass through large cities, such as Amsterdam, around which detours were made. His other occasional excursions were to his dentist in Haarlem.

Thus lived this royal Prince, a prisoner, an exile from his country, separated from wife and children, who could visit him but occasionally and at long intervals; a man really the victim of birth, environment, circumstances and the indefensible acts and policies of others over whom he had no control and for which he was in no way personally responsible. His was no other choice than obedience to the orders of his imperial father and military superiors. It turned out that his own political opinions and judgments were wiser than those to whose orders he was subordinate. He is on record as having affirmed, immediately after the event, that the war was lost to Germany at the

first Battle of the Marne, and his oft-repeated recommendations and urgings at later stages for peace negotiations were ignored and unheeded.

Prince Eitel Friedrich, second son of the Kaiser, is only two years younger than the Crown Prince, but differs radically in appearance and character, as well as in his present life and surroundings. Though without official status he is still strongly militaristic in taste and temperament. His war record is creditable. Originally commander of the First Guards Regiment, Household Troops (in which organization all royal Princes received training), he later became a division commander under Ludendorff. The outcome of the war and the revolution relegated him, together with all the other Hohenzollerns, to the status of a private citizen. He now resides with his wife, a Princess of Oldenburg, in Villa Ingenheim, on the outskirts of Potsdam. Villa Ingenheim is a rather pretentious manor, with extensive grounds surrounded by high walls. The Prince has turned these once highly ornamental grounds to practical uses and is farming in a modest way. He is

a man of large physical proportions and is rapidly accumulating an excess of avoirdupois. While his elder brother was in exile Eitel was the head of the house of Hohenzollern in Prussia, and as such represented it upon all occasions of ceremony, when he was to be seen wearing the uniform of the First Guards Regiment.

EITEL'S DOMESTIC LIFE

The Socialists, to whom he is persona non grata, have often made him the object of violent attacks, accompanied by sensational reports regarding his domestic life and moral aberrations. All this was aired in the courts a few years ago. His marriage was not one of mutual choice, and no issue has resulted. After the suicide of his brother, Prince Joachim, in 1920, Eitel assumed the care and custody of Joachim's only child, until a court decision selected another guardian.

Prince Adalbert, the third son of Wilhelm II., was trained for a naval career. Named after his great-uncle, the first Admiral of the then newly formed Prussian Navy, he received excellent naval training; but, according to German opinion, his record was neither brilliant nor efficient, either in peace or war. He was not popular, nor was he personally admired. Just before the war he was hastily married to a Princess of Saxe-Meiningen, and is now the father of two children, a girl and a boy. He and his family live as plain citizens in the small Villa Adelheid, in Homburg, Hesse, dependent wholly, as are most of the Hohenzollerns, upon the bounty of the Kaiser.

The fourth royal son, Prince August Wilhelm, is quite different from any of his brothers. Of them all he faces the changed conditions that have overtaken him and his house in the most sensible and practical manner. Before the war he acquired a practical education, having taken his doctorate in law from the University of Strassburg. Feeling no desire for a military career, he passed the Government examinations and entered the civil service. During the early part

of the war he served as a staff officer under Field Marshal von Bülow, but only for a short time. Unlike the other Hohenzollerns, things military had no appeal for him, and he returned to the civil service, holding a Government position in the Province of Posen for the remainder of the war. Though radically different in temperament from any of his brothers, August Wilhelm seems to have shared their propensity for unhappy domestic relations. His former wife, a Princess of the House of Schleswig-Holstein-Augustenburg, was as gay as she was pretty. After the revolution, in 1918, she became a frequenter of cabarets and the all-night resorts of Berlin's notorious West End, and the associate of roués and dissolute people. Without difficulty August Wilhelm obtained a divorce and the sole custody of the only child, Alexander, now 11 years of age. Prince August and his son reside in Villa Liegnitz, the private property of the ex-Kaiser, in Potsdam, near the entrance to Sans Souci. The boy, like the son of the ex-Crown Prince, attends the Realgymnasium in Potsdam. Prince August Wilhelm applies his practical education to useful purposes. He holds a clerical position in a Berlin bank and daily rides to and from work in a second-class railway coach, like hundreds of other commuters.

Prince Oskar, the fifth son, is now 36 years of age. Since the fall of his house and the death of German militarism, like Othello, he finds his occupation gone. Like Eitel Friedrich, he was the embodiment of the spike-helmeted, iron-heeled, Prussian officer whose education and training fitted him only for a military career. At the beginning of the World War Prince Oskar was given command of the King's Grenadiers, the famous regiment of his great-grandfather, Emperor Wilhelm I. Later he was advanced to the command of a Brandenburg brigade. His war record is said to have been creditable, but in no way distinguished. Early in the war he became the subject of a heart affection that necessitated withdrawal from



P. & A.

The former Crown Prince and Crown Princess of Germany photographed at Oels, Silesia, where they have found a new home

active service at the front. Later, in 1916, he returned to the field and received a wound while in action near Vilna. His subsequent military career was that of a staff officer.

OSKAR'S MODEST HOME

Oskar, of all the Kaiser's sons, seems to be the only one not physically fit. He is now said to be a sufferer from nephritis, which from time to time completely incapacitates him. Nine years ago he married the Countess Bassewitz. The union was not enthusiastically approved by the then all-powerful Kaiser, for the reason that she was not of royal

rank and station, and the marriage was regarded inappropriate in consequence. For some reason, however, the Kaiser waited until 1920 to correct this faux pas, when, from his exile in Holland, he conferred upon the wife of Oskar the somewhat doubtful and at best empty title of "Princess of Prussia." The marriage, being one of mutual choice and not a politically arranged affair, has turned out to be the most normal and happy. Four children—three sons and one daughter—have been born to the couple.

Of all the ex-royalty still resident in Potsdam, Prince Oskar leads the simplest existence. He and his family live like the simplest members of the middle class. Villa Quandt, on the banks of a small lake called the Holy Sea, where he resides, is a modest little country home. Having no profession, he, like the majority of the royal family, is entirely dependent upon the generosity of his father. On the death of Joachim, Oskar became the youngest son, and is said

not to receive as large a proportion of paternal assistance as is accorded his brothers. When he travels to Berlin he rides third class, and it is reported that for reasons of economy there is no telephone in his home.

On the morning of July 18, 1920, while alone at breakfast in the dining room of Villa Liegnitz, the home of August Wilhelm, Prince Joachim, with a pistol shot, met death at his own hands. At no time had this sixth and youngest son of the Kaiser demonstrated anything beyond mediocre capacities. His actions on more than one occasion

suggested psychopathic tendencies, which his suicide seems to confirm. His marriage to a Princess of Anhalt proved to be a miserably unhappy affair, attended by constant quarrels and disagreements. It is reported that shortly before the suicide an unusually violent scene occurred, during which the Princess declared that Joachim was insane. She left him never to return, and this separation, it is thought, together with Joachim's broodings over an inferior record made in the Intelligence Service during the war and his seriously reduced finances, deranged a mind never too stable. As stated, his brother, Prince Eitel Friedrich, assumed charge of Joachim's only child, and refused to surrender it to the mother, on the ground that she was an unfit person. A court decision gave custody to the mother. Almost immediately after Joachim's tragic ending his widow married an ordinary citizen and is said to be living happy and contented in her materially altered rank and station.

The Kaiser's only daughter, Viktoria Luise, Duchess of Brunswick by marriage to Duke Ernst August, has always occupied an exceptional position in the House of Hohenzollern. The Emperor was ever the embodiment of formality and sternness to his sons, seldom meeting them except as their supreme War Lord. It is said that this attitude is continued even today at Doorn. But to Viktoria Luise, from childhood on, the Emperor is credited with having ever exhibited the most fatherly affection, familiarity and kindness, and this Princess was exempt from the formalities imposed upon the male members of the family. As a result of this exceptional indulgence, Viktoria Luise grew to be something of a spoiled child, and developed her own independent ideas and conduct.

Since her marriage her character has been developed by the misfortunes that have overtaken her family, and she makes no secret of being out of sympathy with Hohenzollernism, its methods and policies, publicly proclaiming its fate to be but the natural and logical

outcome of its own follies. She haughtily and positively refused to be present at the Kaiser's wedding. She expresses humiliation that she should be a Hohenzollern; as the wife of the last Duke of Brunswick of the House of Cumberland she regards herself more closely connected with the Royal House of England. Because of her anti-Hohenzollern attitude she is suspected, especially in the unsettled state of German politics, of nursing secret hopes to win for herself or her heirs the throne of Brunswick or perhaps of Hanover, independent of Prussian domination. It is said that her husband, though outwardly indolent, is possessed of a cold, calculating, intellectual mind, and supports and sympathizes with the Duchess in opinion and ambition. The Duke and Duchess have three sons and one daughter, and reside at Schloss Grunden, Austria, well provided with independent means.

THE EX-KAISER'S BROTHER

The only living brother of the Kaiser, Prince Heinrich (Henry), is now 61 years old. He is known and remembered in America from the fact that in the early years of the century he visited the United States, and was enthusiastically received. He is better known in America on account of this visit than for any special accomplishments. As the Kaiser's younger brother his opportunities have been limited. It is perhaps unfortunate for the Hohenzollerns and Germany herself that Heinrich could not have been the first born, for he has at no time exhibited tendencies to vainglory, egotism and other characteristics so offensively displayed by the fallen War Lord. He is a man of modest and pleasant personality, and had fate placed him on the throne he would probably have remained in power.

During the war, as Grand Admiral, he successfully directed sea operations in the Baltic against the Russians. The latter were numerically the stronger, but in all other respects were hopelessly inferior. This was his only real war accomplishment, the subsequent inactivity of the German Navy giving him little

opportunity. His long continued inactivity had much to do with the outbreak of the naval mutiny at Kiel early in November, 1918, the real beginning of the revolution that sounded the knell of Hohenzollernism. During its course, the fury of the mob was directed toward the person of Heinrich. He was subjected to gross insults, and while moving his household to his country estate, he was forced to use arms in self-defense. Again, during the "Kapp Putsch," in the Spring of 1920, he was attacked, arrested and temporarily imprisoned. Heinrich is now a private citizen, residing on his large estate, Hammelsmark, near Eckernförde, in Holstein. He has often been accused of being pro-English in manners, customs and sympathies, which has not enhanced his popularity. There are two sons: Waldemar, reputed of delicate health, and Siegesmunde. The family is financially independent of the Kaiser.

Among the other Hohenzollerns who are financially independent, is Prince Friedrich Leopold, brother-in-law to the Kaiser, by his marriage to Princess Luise of Schleswig-Holstein-Augustenburg, sister of the late Empress. Leopold is reputed to be the wealthiest of all the Hohenzollerns, the proprietor of Glienicke Castle, near Potsdam, and of very extensive landed estates in West Prussia. This member of the family has always been more or less of a black sheep and a thorn in the flesh of the other Hohenzollerns. Though given a high rank during the war, he was never entrusted with command of a formation, and the rank was regarded as an honorary one.

Leopold is the only son of the late Field Marshal Prince Friedrich Karl, remembered as a brilliant soldier, victor of Dupel, Koeniggratz and Metz in the Franco-Prussian War of 1870-71. The son Leopold seems to have inherited none of his illustrious father's characteristics; he has exhibited no high intellectual faculties, and is reputed to be whimsical, unreliable, narrow-minded, and a pleasure-seeker. I have had

pointed out to me by reliable authority, a spot on the bank of the River Havel, just below Glienicke Castle, where some years ago his wife, as a result of a physical chastisement at his hands, threw herself into the river with suicidal intent, but was rescued by a laborer.

Leopold seems to possess the faculty of quick adaptation to changing circumstances and conditions. As soon as the revolution of 1918 had become an established fact, and had given promise of permanent success, Leopold ordered the red flag to be unfurled to the breeze from the highest turret of Glienicke Castle, and in public declaration, he loudly proclaimed himself out of sympathy with monarchical government, and affirmed his belief in a democratic State. Nevertheless he lost no time in placing himself outside German boundaries, and has since resided in Syria and Lugano. Of his three sons, Friedrich Karl, a war aviator, during an air combat in April, 1917, was fatally wounded and brought to earth, dying a short time later a prisoner in British hands at Rouen.

There are still other Hohenzollerns independent of financial aid from Wilhelm II. Among these are the three sons of the late Prince Albrecht, former regent of Brunswick; Friedrich Heinrich, Joachim Albrecht, and Friedrich Wilhelm. All live on the extensive estate left them by their father, near Glatz, in Upper Silesia. The first named is a bachelor 49 years of age, reputed to be an almost fanatical religious devotee, in all respects impractical, eccentric and inefficient. The career of Joachim has been that of a gay Lothario. His first marriage, contracted in direct opposition to the wish of the Kaiser, was to the divorced Baroness von Lieberburg, and his second was to still another divorcée, Frau von Nostig. Before the war, by direction of the Emperor, the names of both princes were removed from the army lists, because of acts out of harmony with Prussian military standards. The third son, Friedrich William, is manager of his father's estate, and apparently is the

one reliable and balanced member of the family.

EX-CROWN PRINCESS POPULAR

Of the other Hohenzollerns in Germany, those most in the limelight and of greatest interest are the ex-Crown Princess Cecilie and her six children. Before her husband's return to Oels, mother and children were wont to assemble at the Cecilienhof in Potsdam, where the three older sons make their permanent residence.

The legendary wealth the Princess was reputed to have brought to the Crown Prince from her Russian resources has proved to be mythical, and she and her family, like her husband and most of the near relatives of the Kaiser, are absolutely dependent upon the dole of the former Emperor.

Of the Crown Prince's six children the first four are boys and the two younger girls. Wilhelm, the eldest, is 17; Ferdinand, 16, and Hubertus, 14. Wilhelm, it was announced recently, has taken a clerical post with a well-known shipping firm in Hamburg. The youth, though political heir of the former Crown Prince, is understood to have decided on a commercial career, and aspires to learn the shipping business. Ferdinand and Hubertus live at the Cecilienhof, where their education under a resident tutor is directed by an accom-

plished retired officer, formerly on the General Staff and at one time Adjutant to the Crown Prince. Both the youngsters attend the Realgymnasium in Potsdam, which was the school of their father. They are reported to be unusually bright scholars with high-class standing, especially the second son, Louis Ferdinand, who leads his class and is universally popular with his fellow-students.

The three younger children, Friedrich, Alexandrine and Cecilie, are yet too young for virogous training and are under the especial care of their mother. Alexandrine, the elder girl, judging from her facial expression and sluggish action at play with the others on the grounds of Cecilienhof, is not of an alert and active temperament.

Cecilienhof, in the New Gardens, near Potsdam, is a typical English manor, with extensive and attractive grounds. Both Cecilienhof and Castle Oels in Silesia are on State property, and, though Cecilienhof was built during pre-war prosperous days and paid for by personal funds of the Crown Prince, the courts have ruled that both Cecilienhof and Castle Oels belong to the public domain; the concession, however, is made that during the life of Crown Princess Cecilie these shall be subject to her occupancy and control, but at her death shall revert to the jurisdiction of the State.



The New Palace, Potsdam, the Kaiser's last home in Germany

The New Monarchy in Garden of Eden

By RICHARD COKE

British newspaper correspondent in Iraq; formerly Captain in the British Army

MESOPOTAMIA (or Iraq, the Arabic name by which the land between the Euphrates and Tigris is rapidly becoming better known) is a region where biblical scholars have located the Garden of Eden. This region, once so flourishing and then for centuries moldering in decay, has again in the past few years acquired a new interest, since here has been erected a new monarchy on constitutional lines, with all the machinery of present-day democratic government, and, more than that, a State which is no unimportant factor in the vastly complicated business of world politics.

The first of the facts necessary for an understanding of Iraq's particular position in the international problems of the day is that it began its career as a territory conquered in war. It was part of the territory that fell to Great Britain's share as a result of Turkey's defeat. Yet the British have not behaved as conquerors, but have in a striking fashion departed from the methods hitherto employed by great imperial powers to organize a territory won by them with force of arms. Like other Mohammedan peoples, the Iraqis preserved through the organized religion and social system of Islam something of the culture and civilization of the old Arab Empire, which has enabled them, though powerless to prevent the economic penetration of the West, to offer a subtle and effective resistance against Western ideals and modes of thought.

After the war the British were faced with a peculiar difficulty in Mesopotamia. They had conquered a country which they did not want and which, though far from lacking in potential

wealth, had been allowed during centuries of neglect to fall into a state of almost irreparable decay. The British, moreover, found themselves caught in a cross-fire of criticism. On the one hand the outside world suspected designs on the reputed oil wealth of Mosul, and on the other the British public at home resented the idea of spending the money which would be needed to redevelop Mesopotamia. On the top of all this, a serious revolt blazed up in 1920 against British authority within the country itself, and this in turn caused reverberations at home. The Mesopotamian problem urgently demanded a solution, which it is hoped the British have found by setting up a National Government on Western lines, with a constitutional monarch at the head to insure stability and continuity, and a Mejlis, or Assembly, to provide the State with a democratic basis. Once the new Government is firmly established it is the intention of the British to withdraw their own direct support. The legal instrument by which it is proposed gradually to hand over the governance of Iraq to the Iraqis is known as the Anglo-Iraq Treaty, which was ratified, after considerable discussion and not a little uproar, by the Iraq Mejlis al-Tasisi, or Constituent Assembly.

This treaty was originally designed to supersede the mandate of the League of Nations, the idea of which proved so unpopular in Iraq as to be practically unworkable, for the Iraqis stoutly maintained that they did not mind being turned into a British colony, or alternatively accepting their independence, but to any middle course involving divided responsibility and endless bick-

ering they were strongly opposed. The treaty, which was signed by the representatives of Great Britain and Iraq on Oct. 10, 1922, was originally designed to run for twenty years, but objection being taken to the length of the term by public opinion in both Iraq and Great Britain, it was eventually reduced to four years, and an amendment to that effect was embodied in a protocol signed at Bagdad on April 30, 1923. It was provided in the treaty that, before final acceptance, it must be ratified by the Constituent Assembly of Iraq, elections for which, after considerable delay, were held in January, 1924, the House being officially opened by King Feisal on March 27.

OPPOSITION TO THE TREATY

Before the Assembly settled down to its labors a storm of protest was aroused by the publication of a number of separate agreements which had been provided for in the treaty to cover the details of practical working in regard to financial, military and administrative matters. The chief general complaint made against the agreements by the Iraq press and public was that Great Britain was using the strength of her position to press upon a weak ally terms which she would not have attempted to press upon a strong one. Detailed objection, at first vague and undefined, gradually focused itself upon certain items, particularly the financial clauses, the terms of engagement of British officials, and the clauses by which British and other European subjects held certain legal immunities and privileges, and by which the British Government, in case of war and other emergencies, possessed the power to obtain land by compulsory purchase. It was freely asserted in Bagdad that a British subject, an Indian for example, could murder a native and escape the operation of the local courts or police, and that the British Government might use the land clause for the purpose of undermining the independence of Iraq by establishing colonies of British subjects in the country. Op-

position to the agreements under these two heads was completely groundless, but on the first two points there was a fair case to be made out for the Iraq point of view.

The financial clauses to which exception was taken provide for the purchase by the Iraq Government of certain public works built in Iraq by the British, including roads, canals and bridges, at the fixed sum of 9,409,540 rupees (about \$2,822,862 at the present exchange rate) for interest of 5 per cent. per annum, to be paid to Great Britain until payment of the capital sum is completed; and for the sinking fund for this debt to have priority over all other debt charges in the Iraq budget. The Port of Basra is to be handed over to a Port Trust, having prior claim on all the revenues of the port, which shall be considered as in debt to the British for their work at the port to the sum of 7,219,000 rupees (about \$2,165,700); the railways, though administered by the Iraq Government, are to remain the property of the British, who have the right to sell them to a private purchaser. At the end of the treaty period their sale to the Iraq Government shall be made a matter of negotiation. Further financial clauses deal with the acceptance by Iraq of a proportion of the old Ottoman public debt; and a condition that not less than 25 per cent. of the annual revenue of the Government should be spent on military and other forces for the defense of the country. Two minor points which raised considerable protest were the liability of the Iraq Government for the salaries and expenses of the British High Commissioner and staff, and the proposed exemption from customs duties of articles sold by British official military canteens, a practice which has led to considerable abuse in Bagdad in the past. The general case on the side of Iraq against the financial clauses was well summed up in the report of the committee appointed by the Mejlis to investigate the treaty, which stated:

It was expected that the Iraq Government would be treated with all possible

generosity in the matter of works of public utility. The committee notes that the greater part of these works were constructed for military purposes during the war, with the exception of insignificant irrigation works. The works have completely served the purpose for which they were constructed, and victory was achieved. Further, the Allies constructed, in the fields of war in Europe, works similar to these under consideration, and for the same purposes; and after their withdrawal they abandoned these works without claiming their value. As the Iraq Government, with its poor resources, is more deserving of such treatment than any other Government—particularly so in that his Britannic Majesty's Government has undertaken to assist and help Iraq—the committee requested the British High Commissioner to amend the articles in question, on the basis of dropping claims for the value of works of public utility, railways and the Port of Basra. In reply the High Commissioner pointed out that he was engaged in setting forth the difficulties of the whole financial situation to the British Government, and that he had little doubt that that Government will, when they are able to grasp the difficulty of the situation as a whole, be prepared to act in a really liberal spirit in this and other financial matters.

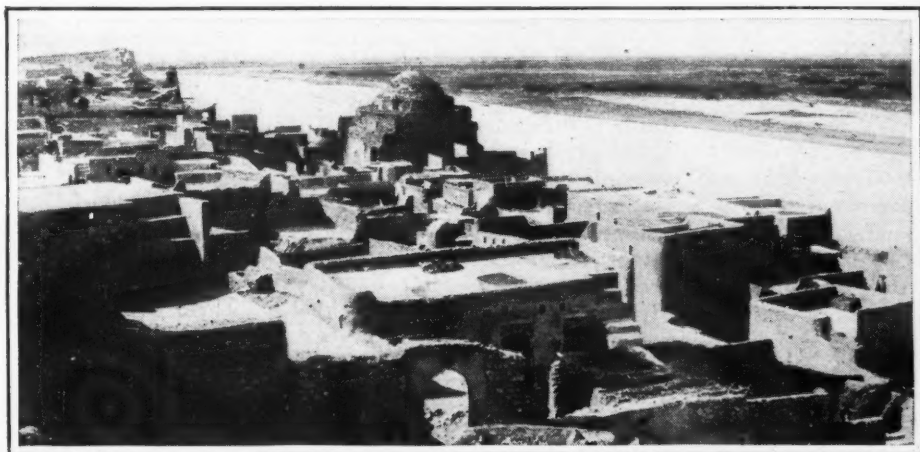
FINANCIAL CONTROVERSY

At first sight the idea that all British financial claims might be dropped or even modified might appear to call for excessive generosity on the part of the British taxpayer; but if the matter is studied more closely it will be found that the claims of the Iraqis are not so acquisitive as they seem. It must be remembered that many of the public works constructed by the British as war-time measures are ill-adapted to the uses of commercial life; and that, although

they may, like the railways, be made just to pay their way, it is extremely unlikely that they would, for some years to come, be able to earn any considerable income on the capital expended on them. This is particularly the case with the Port of Basra, which has undoubtedly been developed on a far larger scale than the actual commercial needs of Iraq justify.

It was perhaps only natural that Iraq should object to accepting liability for a portion of the Ottoman public debt. On the other hand, as a part of the late Turkish Empire, it is only fair both to the holders of the bonds and to the present Turkish Government that such a division of the debt should be made; for Turkey, having lost her empire, could hardly be expected to support the burden of a debt incurred on behalf of it.

The objection to the British provision that Iraq must spend at least 25 per cent. of her annual revenue on defense is less easy to understand. According to this year's budget figures, Iraq is already more than fulfilling this condition. Though it may seem hard that a country in need of money for the development of future revenue-producing properties, such as irrigation canals, should be obliged to spend a quarter of its income on financially un-



Mosul

productive work such as defense, it must be remembered that Iraq is a turbulent land, with long borders and unsettled internal conditions; and that, unless the Central Government is ever ready to meet any local military emergency, the chance of defiance or revolt by one or other of the big tribal units is never very far distant. To many of the tribesmen a Government of any kind is merely an objectionable institution which destroys liberty and insists upon the payment of taxes.

The terms upon which British officials were to be engaged by the Iraq Government included the compulsory employment of British officials for the period of the treaty in eighteen special "key" positions, such as advisers to the principal Ministries, Inspector General of Police, and Directors of Customs, Irrigation, Public Works and other important departments. The engagement by the Iraq Government of British officials in other and subordinate posts was optional, but the terms of service were laid down in the agreement, and the Government was prevented under the treaty from engaging foreign officials of any but British origin, except with the approval of the British High Commissioner. The Iraqis made little or no protest against the eighteen compulsory engagements. It was recognized that a certain number of highly placed British officials would be of value in the young Administration. Strong exception, however, was taken to the scale of pay laid down for British officials (ranging from approximately \$800 to \$1,100 per month for Grade I. officials down to from \$250 to \$375 per month for Grade V.), and especially to the leave regulations which allowed a British official one day's foreign leave for every five days' work, apart from the weekly day of rest, public holidays and a possible twenty-one days a year "local leave" at the discretion of the Government. A local wit published an elaborate calculation in a Bagdad daily paper to prove that, at this rate, it would only be necessary for an official to work two-fifths of the year, and if he

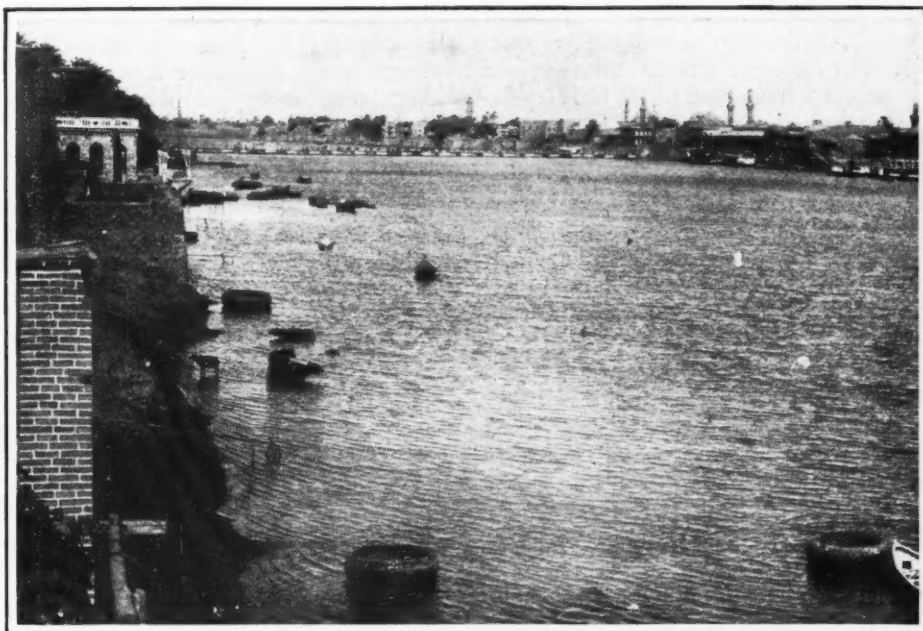
managed to obtain sufficient sick leave in addition, he might escape work altogether. The leave clauses also allowed one free passage to Europe and back for each five years' service, and two free passages for the official's wife; this latter provision particularly exasperated the Iraqis, who maintained that the cost of a wife's movements was her husband's business, and that the officials were being paid quite generously enough without the Government being burdened with the charges of their wives' vacations.

POLITICAL DISCUSSION A NOVELTY

Political discussion is still a novelty in Bagdad, and the long-drawn-out debate on the treaty was thoroughly enjoyed by the citizens. The debates in the Mejlis have been reported word for word in the newspapers, and it has been made a point of especial pride that the speeches of the country Sheiks have been, both in oratorical power and debating ability, well up to the standard set by the intellectual city members. The Arab is practically alone among the races of the modern world in basing his cultural values on country usage rather than on town usage. The speech of the desert dweller is held to be purer by the cultured Arab than that of his city rival, and his manners are considered more courteous; and the true tribesman despises even those portions of his tribal unit that have, in the course of time, settled in Bagdad or other large cities and deserted the black tents of the Bedouin.

The final ratification of the treaty on June 10, 1924, did not take place until the Government, headed by the Prime Minister, Jafar Pasha al-Askari, had overcome considerable opposition among members of the Assembly, and after King Feisal himself had exerted all his influence. Three different resolutions were submitted to the Assembly, of which the last, couched in the following terms, was accepted:

This Assembly considers many of the clauses in the treaty and the agreements so severe as to weaken the ability of Iraq to undertake the responsibilities of an ally. But the Assembly relies upon



Bagdad from the River Tigris

and is confident of the honor of the British Government and the right dealing of the British people, confident that they would not oppress the Iraq people, nor disregard their desires nor Iraq's reliance upon Britain.

This feeling alone has caused Iraq to accept the explanations given to the Assembly by his Excellency the High Commissioner, on behalf of the British Government; that is to say, that after the treaty has been accepted the financial agreement will be modified as soon as possible in the generous spirit for which the British people are famed.

Wherefore the Assembly requests his Majesty the King to ratify the treaty, the protocol and the agreements; provided that his Majesty shall, after the ratification, at once begin negotiations with the British Government to gain the modifications proposed by the committee of the Assembly (appointed for the detailed consideration of the treaty). And this treaty and its agreements shall be invalid if Great Britain does not protect Iraq's rights to the vilayet of Mosul in its entirety.

The motion was accepted by 37 votes to 24, eight members not voting. It will be noticed that two important reservations are made, or implied, in the motion. The first is that Great Britain shall modify the Financial Agreement in a sense favorable to Iraq; the second that she shall refuse to hand Mosul back to the Turks. The British Government has more than once declared, through the mouth of the High Commis-

sioner, who is its official representative in Iraq, that it was not prepared to accept any modifications in the treaty, but that it must be either accepted or rejected as it stood. Apparently it is ready to overlook the implied modifications in the Assembly's resolution of acceptance, for notification has since been received in Bagdad that the British Government recognizes the legality of the ratification.

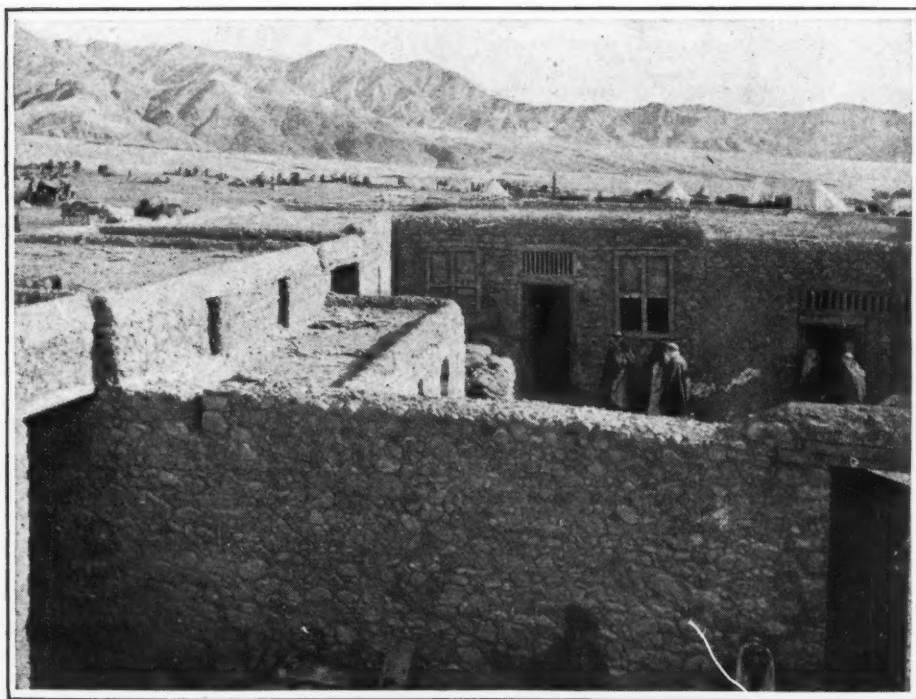
ANTI-WESTERN INFLUENCES

The ratification in Iraq has resulted in a clearing of the political atmosphere in Bagdad. Business and other aspects of normal life, held up for some weeks by the excitement engendered by the treaty discussion, have now a chance of getting once more into their stride. At the same time it could not truthfully be said that ratification is universally popular. There is no doubt that a large section of Iraqis believe they have been forced into signing the treaty by the combined weight of the British, King Feisal and the political party of Jafar Pasha al-Askari and Nouri Pasha

Said, which form the present Government. All these three parties, for various reasons, were undoubtedly anxious to get the treaty signed, if only to legalize their own positions in the country. An analysis of the treaty voting shows that the principal support came from the north, including Mosul, Kirkuk and Kurdistan, with some backing also from the central Tigris country and Basra. Bagdad was about equally divided. The chief centre of opposition was the Shammiyah, the rich country of the middle Euphrates, which contains the large and wealthy towns of Hillah, Kerbela, Kufa and Najaf. This district is largely dominated by the religious leaders of Najaf and Kerbela, two of the principal "holy cities" of the Shiah faith, and it supplied the main sinews of war to the rebels during the uprising in 1920. Shiah religious influence is always exerted in an anti-Western direction and, consequently, strong opposition to the treaty was only to be expected from this source. Moreover,

King Feisal is a Sunni, or orthodox Mohammedan, and the majority of the executives are Sunnis—a state of things which can hardly be pleasing to the Shiahs, who number at least half of the Mesopotamian population.

The treaty clearly defines the political relations of Great Britain and Iraq during the next four years. A good deal now depends upon certain imminent economic developments, in irrigation, agriculture and oil, which might, by bringing capital into Iraq, revolutionize its financial position and also its political outlook. Iraq has been a poor country with a low standard of living for five centuries and might be expected to show a more generous appreciation of what the British and other Western residents have done to help the country. The Arab, however, has little belief in the reality of altruism in international relations and is inclined to search for other motives than kindness to explain the West's anxiety to place him once more upon his feet.



A typical Arab's home

Prohibition Issue in the Presidential Campaign

By WAYNE B. WHEELER

General Counsel and Legislative Superintendent, Anti-Saloon League of America.

THE two major political parties have endorsed the enforcement of law and have declined to insert in their national platforms any planks which favored modification of the Volstead act. The independent Progressive Convention at Cleveland was so representative of the former prohibition sections that the modification advocates withdrew without requesting the insertion of a "wet" plank. Both major parties approved civil service for prohibition agents.

The opponents of prohibition fought hard at Cleveland for the insertion of their "wet" plank, declaring in favor of modification of the enforcement law. When their plea was rejected they turned to the Democratic National Convention, with the following statement issued by the founder of the Association Against the Prohibition Amendment:

The Republican Party, through its "on-the-fence" attitude on the wet and dry question at its recent Cleveland convention, has defeated all chances of electing President Coolidge and General Dawes if the Democratic Party, in convention next week, takes a more liberal and decided stand and writes a moist plank in its platform.

Such a plank was prepared for the Democrats and was published in *The Liberty Bell*, the organ of the National Liberal Alliance, as follows:

A widespread dissatisfaction existing among millions of our loyal fellow-citizens of every station and occupation, growing out of the operation of the Eighteenth Amendment under the Volstead act, indicates the necessity for revision or modification of Federal prohibition legislation, to insure satisfactory enforcement. We take note of this dissatisfaction and favor a national referendum, authorized by Congress, to determine the will of the voters of the nation as a whole upon this issue and pledge ourselves to promote the same.

This plank was never offered to the

Resolutions Committee, the "wet" advocates declining to use more than a few minutes of the time allotted them. No arguments were presented by their spokesmen, who merely asked the committee if it would not "like a glass of nice cool beer," and suggested that they take such action as would attract the largest number of votes at the election. The committee's opinion on the policy likely to be approved by the majority of voters was expressed in its adoption of a law-enforcement plank and the rejection of the "wet" program. A plank on State rights, the time-honored Democratic doctrine, was hailed by the "wets," curiously, as a concession. It has no relation to prohibition but may be regarded as expressing the attitude of some Southern States on the child labor amendment.

No plank in favor of prohibition was asked by the Anti-Saloon League. In a statement issued before the conventions were held the Legislative Committee of the League said:

The National Anti-Saloon League has never asked for a "dry" plank in any political party platform. It has never considered prohibition a political party issue. A "dry" plank will not assure the votes of "wet" Congressmen in the enactment of laws sustaining prohibition, but will embarrass the friends of prohibition in their fight against "wet" candidates for Congress hiding behind "dry" planks in their party platform.

Since the Eighteenth Amendment places an obligation upon Congress and the Federal Government to enact and enforce legislation to make the Eighteenth Amendment uniformly operative, and in view of the present openly defiant organized resistance to the enforcement of prohibition, we believe that a strong law enforcement plank would be helpful at this time. Law enforcement is fundamental to the very existence of organized society. No political party should hesitate to declare for it.

The course thus suggested by the league was the one adopted by both

the Republican and Democratic Parties. The plank adopted by the Republicans reads as follows:

We must have respect for law. We must have observance of law. We must have enforcement of law. The very existence of the Government depends upon this. The substitution of private will for public law is only another name for oppression, disorder, anarchy and mob rule. Every Government depends upon the loyalty and respect of its citizens. Violations of the law weaken and threaten Government itself. No honest Government can condone such actions on the part of its citizens. The Republican Party pledges the full strength of Government for the maintenance of these principles by the enforcement of the Constitution and of all laws.

The Democrats adopted this plank:

The Republican Administration has failed to enforce the prohibition law; is guilty of trafficking in liquor permits and has become the protector of violators of this law. The Democratic Party pledges itself to respect and enforce the Constitution and all the laws.

President Coolidge's attitude on enforcement of prohibition was too well known for the "wets" to raise this issue concerning his candidacy at Cleveland. They did notify the Madison Square Garden convention that only a "wet" would have their favor. In a published statement they denounced John W. Da-

vis as one of the "obvious impossibilities" because of his position as a "dry" in their classification. With him they denounced McAdoo, Ralston and Glass. Contrasted to these the "wets" published their approval of Smith, Ritchie, Silzer, Bayard and Reed. William Allen White, in discussing the nomination of Mr. Davis, declared "his nomination came from the West and South and it came because he was supposed to be 'dry.'"

The more thoughtful of the "wet" group are coming to realize that their sole hope of making any modification of the law lies in retracing the steps taken in adopting the Eighteenth Amendment. To succeed in this they will have to overcome the prohibition sentiment of the majority of the American people. This favorable attitude toward the "dry" laws has grown so remarkably in the past four years that few political leaders will openly oppose it. To be branded as the enemy of prohibition is certain defeat everywhere in America, excepting in the few "wet" centres.

Quebec's Liquor Experiment

By CHARLES UPSON CLARK

Formerly director of the School of Classical Studies of the American Academy in Rome; Principal of the Massawippi Summer School, North Hatley, Quebec; author of "Greater Rumania" and other books.

OUR continent is a laboratory of incessant experiment with the liquor problem. We Americans have ostensibly one law; but, as every traveler knows, the degrees of enforcement are so various that a foreigner might well be puzzled to reconstruct the wording of the law from observation of its working. The Canadians, with their wider autonomy, have several varieties of legal restriction, ranging from the prohibition of the Maritime Provinces and Ontario to the Government sale systems of British Columbia, Al-

berta, Manitoba and Quebec. These differ considerably in detail. In British Columbia, for instance, it is necessary to have a permit—a mere matter of form, to be sure—in order to buy liquor in the Government dispensaries; in Quebec that is not necessary. In Quebec a glass of beer or of wine (not of spirits) can be bought in a licensed tavern or hotel or dining car; in British Columbia that has never been allowed, and a referendum has just confirmed this attitude. The Government sale systems are all patterned more or less

closely after the Swedish Gothenburg system, by which the Government is the sole dispenser of ardent spirits; and the Quebec adaptation is probably the most satisfactory.

Adopting prohibition a few years ago, the Province had its experience with inspectors and bootlegging and all the other concomitants of the system. Then, in February, 1921, the Legislature adopted the so-called Quebec plan and created the Quebec Liquor Commission with power to import, transport and sell alcoholic liquors, to grant permits to hotels, restaurants, taverns, shops and clubs, for the sale of wine and beer, to regulate these establishments, and to prosecute offenders. The Quebec plan went into force on March 1, 1921, so that after three years of operation it is possible to make a fairly comprehensive summary of its accomplishments.

GOVERNMENT LIQUOR STORES

In the first place, the Province enjoys local option. Over a dozen counties are still entirely "dry" or with only a single "wet" town. In this vast area, over fourteen times that of New York State and nearly three times that of Texas, there are only about seventy-five Government liquor stores, as provincial dispensaries are called; in Montreal there are also two mail-order stores. When a town votes "wet" the Quebec Liquor Commission moves slowly in establishing more than one liquor store. Sherbrooke, with a population of about 25,000, has never had but one. Montreal, with about a million, has only about fifty. The law provides that only one bottle of any hard liquor may be bought by a consumer in one day; this must be taken away, as no liquor may be drunk on the premises. Where there is only one store in a town it is fairly easy to restrict the sale. In Montreal and Quebec, since there is no consumer's license card system, no checking-up is possible, and cases have been known where groups of American visitors have gone in a taxicab from store to store and ac-

cumulated quite a stock. However, this has ceased to be an evil, through a curious and surprising development on the United States side of the line, in prohibition New England and New York. This deserves a full explanation.

In the first place, the Quebec Liquor Commission, to quote its first report, has set out on the assumption "that the best means of effectively controlling the consumption of alcoholic liquors is not to entirely deprive citizens of such liquor, but, by means of disciplinary measures exercised in a reasonable manner, to gradually lead them toward the use of less ardent liquors at less cost." That is, the commission has deliberately planned to make hard liquor expensive. The Dominion Government contributes powerfully toward this end by levying heavy customs, excise and sales taxes. On every imperial quart bottle (40 oz.) of Scotch whisky these initial charges amount to \$2.51, which must be paid by the consumer in addition to the original and all subsequent costs of the whisky itself, as well as the profit of the Quebec Liquor Commission. That raises the selling price to about \$5 a bottle, and from \$55 to \$65 a case. The bootlegging rings operating in Boston and New York, which have no such taxes to pay, are distributing Scotch whisky through New York State and New England at a price much below this—from \$42 to \$45 a case, plus cost of transportation. As a result, not merely has whisky bootlegging from Quebec practically ceased—the bootleggers now deal almost exclusively in ale and wine—but, according to various reliable authorities, whisky is actually being smuggled into Quebec from New England and New York State. Another result of the high price in Quebec is that a considerable amount of whisky is being illegally made within the Province itself; the agents of the commission are constantly seizing stills, particularly in country districts.

Pure alcohol is subject to a very high excise duty—\$9 per proof gallon. This is reduced to \$2.40 in the case of wholesale bonded manufacturers and licensed

druggists. There has not been much abuse of this privilege, but denatured alcohol is productive of trouble in Quebec, just as it is in the United States. Being free of excise duty and sold under Dominion (not provincial) supervision, denatured alcohol may be bought without restriction. On this point the Quebec Liquor Commission reports:

No denaturant has yet been discovered by the wit of man which cannot be neutralized or virtually expelled by means of other chemical reagents or by redistillation. Here, then, was an opportunity for recovery of duty-free potable alcohol, although expressly forbidden by law, for beverage purposes, which was not long overlooked by those seeking to profit from the illicit liquor traffic. A number of such cases have been detected during the past year and such punishment administered as the excise laws permit, in every case with seizure and confiscation of stills and products. It is difficult, however, to secure conviction of the real principals, and mere payment of fines is altogether inadequate as punishment.

There is in practice no interference with the making of hard cider by the farmer for his own use or with the brewing of elderberry, currant, dandelion, bluet and other kinds of wine, in which the French housewives have long excelled. Ale and beer, mainly the product of long-established Quebec and Ontario breweries, are sold by licensed grocery stores in "wet" cities; the Dominion exacts an excise tax of 12½ cents per gallon, and the Quebec Liquor Commission receives the proceeds of a sales tax of 5 per cent. There is no restriction on the amount the consumer may purchase, but he may not drink it on the premises, except in the licensed hotels, restaurants, steamers, dining cars and "taverns," the last named being a pale, whisky-less replica of the saloons of the United States. Nor does the commission restrict the sale of wines in its stores. A dozen bottles of port wine or a case of champagne may be bought without further formality than presentation of the price.

CHEAP WINE POLICY

In its campaign against hard liquor the commission sells wine at a low profit and takes every pains to insure purity with wine, as with spirits. It maintains a Paris office with a resident

expert for testing wines and a Montreal bureau with competent specialists. All liquors and wines bought are first analyzed by official chemists in the country of origin, inspected by the Dominion chemists, and finally tested by the commission's experts. All sacramental wines are passed on by the Dean of the Scientific Faculty of the University of Montreal, the commission conducting two stores for the exclusive sale of such wines to the clergy.

France has recently had an overproduction of first-class wines. When the French franc dropped to a low point, the commission, which is one of the few large buyers, stepped in, and as a result the liquor stores dispensed an excellent Bordeaux wine (Mont St-Jean s. Larcher), imported in bulk and bottled under the supervision of the commission at the rate of 50 cents the imperial quart bottle. All other wines are correspondingly cheap. This is the chief reason that the sale of wine has trebled during the past year and the sale of hard liquor fallen off.

The Quebec Liquor Commission is a business organization; it makes money. In its three years of activity it has paid in to the Provincial Treasury a profit of over \$12,000,000. British Columbia, in a trifle less than the same period, has cleared \$7,135,000. The population of these two Provinces amounts to a little under three millions. If these two Provinces can count on a profit of \$2 a year per person, we may conclude that the same system applied to the United States would bring in a yearly net revenue of approximately \$200,000,000 (to which must be added the sums at present spent to secure enforcement of the Volstead law).

What is done with the profits made by the Quebec Liquor Commission? They are used for building and maintaining the Government highways (of which there are now over 5,000 miles, with some 25,000 miles of secondary highways); for the support of the schools, universities and hospitals of the Province; for the fight against

cancer and tuberculosis; for scholarships for young Quebecers abroad, and for other worthy ends.

The results of the new régime in the fight against drunkenness are hard to determine. The provincial figures show a diminution of 50 per cent. in the arrests for intoxication, but a considerable proportion of these arrests are of Americans who have thus celebrated their arrival in a freer atmosphere. Nevertheless, the prohibitionists within the province conduct a vigorous campaign, though at present apparently a hopeless one. All that a much-traveled outsider like myself can say—and in the last five years I have been at least three times in every American State and Canadian Province

(except the Maritime Provinces), and many months in Europe—is that I see practically no drunkenness as I move about in the Province of Quebec.

Quebec, then, has had remarkable material success in the administration of a form of the Gothenburg government dispensary system. Three other provinces, of entirely different historical antecedents, are also experimenting along similar lines. The latest evidence of the spread of the idea underlying the Quebec plan comes from the Province of Saskatchewan, where a plebiscite on July 16, 1924, resulted in a heavy vote against the "bone-dry" act, which had gone into effect on Feb. 1, 1921, and in favor of the Government sale of spirituous and malt liquors.

Losses From Disease in the World War Armies

By HAROLD G. VILLARD

WHEN, shortly after the start of the World War, it was realized that the struggle would be of long duration, medical opinion was divided regarding the extent to which the hostile armies would be ravaged by disease. In most previous wars of any consequence many more soldiers had perished from fever or contagion than

had died on the field of battle. This was true even of the majority of the conflicts waged in recent times, as will be seen by glancing at the following table prepared by the German Statistical Office, which gives the number of deaths from military operations and disease in the leading wars that took place between 1854 and 1904:

DEATHS FROM ENEMY ACTION AND DISEASE IN WARS WAGED SINCE 1854.

WAR.	Duration in Months.	Army.	Average No. Effectives in	Enemy Action.	No. Deaths Per 1,000—	
			Thousands.		Disease.	Total.
Crimean, 1854-56	28	French	309	58.8	191.7	250.4
		British	98	46.9	179.6	226.7
Austro-Italian, 1859-60	12	French	130	42.9	105.8	148.7
Danish-Prussian, 1864	9	Prussian	63	11.6	4.9	16.5
		Danish	54	26.8	15.1	41.9
Austro-Prussian, 1866	3	Prussian	280	14.3	18.6	32.9
Franco-Prussian, 1870-71	12	German	815	34.7	18.3	53.0
Russo-Turkish, 1877-78	28	Russian	839	97.0	26.7	123.7
Chinese-Japanese, 1894-95	6	Japanese	61	15.9	51.6	67.9
Greek-Turkish, 1897	—	Greek	66	10.5
Spanish-American, 1898-99	12	American	211	4.6	25.7	30.3
Anglo-Boer, 1899-1902	23	British	250	25.5	44.4	69.9
Russo-Japanese, 1904-05	23	Japanese	1200	58.5	22.6	81.1
		Russian	1365	24.9	6.8	31.7

The fear felt at the outbreak of the World War that disease and pestilence would play a decisive rôle in the conflict and determine the outcome of campaigns proved soon to be unfounded. Where the latest and most approved sanitary measures were applied and up-to-date preventive medicines used, no serious outbreak of infectious ailments occurred among either the civilian population or the military forces. During the fifty-three months of the war only one great epidemic occurred. This was the scourge of typhus which claimed from 100,000 to 135,000 victims in the Serbian and an unknown total in the Russian army. Both Russia and Serbia lacked, however, the medical and sanitary personnel required successfully to combat this disease, which caused only relatively few deaths in the other armies.

In many former conflicts smallpox and typhoid fever were the chief causes of death among those bearing arms. During the Franco-Prussian War of 1870-71, which occurred before the days of compulsory vaccination, 23,469 French soldiers died of smallpox. In the World War not a single Canadian and only twenty-two German soldiers died of this disease. In the course of the Anglo-Boer war 57,684 out of 208,326 British soldiers engaged contracted typhoid fever. Of these 8,022 died and 19,454 had to be invalided home. Out of every 1,000 effectives 18.6 succumbed to this disease as compared with 12.9 that died of wounds and 9.59 that were killed in action. In the World War the losses from typhoid fever were comparatively trivial. Thus in the American first army of 1,000,000 men there were but seventeen typhoid cases, while the Canadian forces with 420,000

enlisted men lost only fourteen men from this once dreaded disease.

Professor Harald Westerwald of the University of Copenhagen estimates that of the 11,000,000 soldiers who are supposed to have laid down their lives in the World War only 3,000,000 fell victims to diseases, as compared with 8,000,000 whose deaths were directly ascribable to war operations. Unfortunately, owing to the absence of detailed statistics, it is impossible to apportion these losses from sickness exactly. According to Professor G. Montara of Rome, the Italian Army, which was forty-two months in the field and for which 5,250,000 men were mobilized, lost 130,000 effectives, or twenty-five per 1,000, from sickness and 330,000, or sixty-three per 1,000, in consequence of actual fighting.

So far Germany is the only one of the great belligerent nations to disclose fully the disease mortality rate of her armies. In an article published not long ago in *Wirtschaft und Statistik*, the official organ of the German Statistical Office, it is stated that the deaths of persons in the German military forces from the outbreak of the war to the year 1919 numbered 1,711,154. Of these only 187,973, or one in nine, died as the result of disease, an astonishingly good showing, all things considered. It is much better than the records of the Russian troops. The German authorities calculate that, with the statistics for the Caucasian armies missing, 33.90 per 1,000 of the 12,500,000 Russians mobilized in the course of the war died of disease, while 89.2 per 1,000 were either killed outright or succumbed to wounds. With 13,250,000 men mobilized, the Germans estimate their losses at 128.6 per 1,000, of which only 13.8 were due to disease. In com-

GERMAN WAR LOSSES FROM DISEASE AND ENEMY ACTION

Year.	Average No. Effectives in Thousands.	Deaths Enemy Action.	Disease, in Thousands.	No. Deaths per 1,000 Effectives, Enemy Action.	Disease.	Total.
1914.....	5.030	231	14	46.0	2.7	48.7
1915.....	6.767	404	34	59.6	5.1	64.7
1916.....	7.630	317	38	41.5	3.6	45.1
1917.....	7.917	249	36	31.5	4.6	36.1
1918.....	8.000	319	65	39.8	8.1	47.9
1919.....		3	0			
Total.....	1,523		188			

paring the German and Russian records it must be borne in mind that the Russians stopped fighting at the end of thirty-nine months, while the German forces were under fire for fifty-three months. By years the German losses group themselves as shown at the foot of the page preceding.

It is interesting to recall that in our Civil War the Union Army, with an estimated strength of 806,755 men, lost annually through deaths from disease 66.1 per 1,000 effectives. The following diseases were responsible for the German Army's sickness death list:

AILMENT.	NO. OF DEATHS.
Unknown	39,003
Pneumonia	27,371
Pulmonary tuberculosis.....	19,886
Influenza	14,161
Typhus	10,548
Disorders of circulatory system.....	9,738
Wound infections	9,350
Dysentery	8,040
Diseases of digestive organs.....	5,174
Diseases of respiratory organs.....	5,126
Suicides	5,106
Nervous disorders	4,974
Unknown causes	4,872
Urinary and sexual diseases.....	4,700
Catarrh of stomach, diarrhea, &c.....	2,317
Cancer	2,286
Tuberculosis	2,637
Appendicitis	1,977
Cholera	1,838
Spotted fever	1,785
Apoplexy	1,234
Diphtheria	1,138
Cerebro-spinal meningitis	1,059
Neoplasms	1,058
Erysipelas	706
Malaria	703
Scarlet fever	580
Acute military tuberculosis.....	454
Murder and assault.....	294
Venereal diseases	224
Recurrent fever	47
Infectious animal diseases.....	45
Smallpox	22
Military executions.....	19
Antinomycose	15
Measles	14
Whooping cough	5
Other infectious diseases.....	8
Infantile paralysis	5
Chicken pox	1
Mumps	1
Total	187,973

It will be seen that pneumonia, for which an antidote has yet to be found, caused more deaths in the German forces than any other single disease. The American Army had a similar ex-

perience. Its annual death rate from disease during the World War has been estimated at 14.8 per 1,000 effectives of which twelve, or over four-fifths, were due to epidemic pneumonia. Pulmonary tuberculosis, influenza and typhus proved to be the next greatest scourges in the German ranks, which were little depleted by dysentery and malaria. The former disease contributed largely to the failure of the Allies' Gallipoli campaign in 1915. It broke out in a virulent form among the British troops employed in the month of August and was responsible for most of the 120,000 casualties evacuated from the peninsula on account of sickness during the ensuing ninety days. About 5 per cent. of these ended fatally. Malaria came near rendering futile the Saloniki and Mesopotamian campaigns of the Allies.

In order to complete the medical history of the war it is to be hoped that the German officials will some day publish the number and nature of the non-fatal cases of illness that occurred among the German troops. On the allied side we are told that in France the average evacuation for sickness from armies to base was 0.6 per cent of the registered strength weekly. Nor should the fact be overlooked that in 1920 65 per cent. of all war pensioners were classified as suffering from disease as contrasted with 35 per cent. disabled by wounds or injuries. The triumph of preventive medicine has been hailed as the outstanding feature of the World War, but even if further great advances should be made in our knowledge of medicine and sanitation, no army can expect absolute immunity from sickness. Science will never be able to prevent soldiers whose vitality has been lowered by over-exertion, exposure to the elements, lack of sleep and poor food from falling a prey to disease.

Germany's Business Parliament

BY DR. KARL VON SIEMENS

Chairman of the Board of Directors of the Siemens-Schuckert works, Berlin, and a member of the German Reichstag

GERMANY is trying an experiment, attempted in no country west of Russia, to superimpose a federal council representing labor, capital and the consumer upon its Parliamentary system. Although this third House of Parliament, created in the first fervor of the revolution, owes its origin to the underlying idea of Soviet rule, the new organization, based upon economic function, is not an instrument of Bolshevism. Some leaders of German industry, like Dr. Alfred Hugenberg, regard the business Parliament as destined eventually to supplant the Reichstag. Personally, I prefer to regard it as a valuable means of cooperation on the part of industry and labor with the legislative bodies and with the Federal Administration.

Every conceivable occupation, from bank president to janitor, is represented on the council. The housewife and the domestic servant each has a vote. All meet on equal terms to discuss questions of economic importance. To understand exactly where this body fits into Germany's present-day life it should be remembered that the Constitution of the Reich provides for three definite parliamentary bodies: (1) The Reichstag, corresponding to the House of Representatives of the United States; (2) the Reichsrat, representing the States incorporated in the German Federation as such, a body analogous to the United States Senate, and (3) the Reichswirtschaftsrat, or Economic Council, which

is a distinct innovation in representative government. Advisory in character, the Economic Council does not legislate. Every important measure affecting the economic status of Germany must be subjected to its approval. Neither the Government nor the Reichstag is bound by its opinion. Nevertheless it is a body so thoroughly representative of the forces controlling the fortunes of the German realm that its advice is not likely to be overridden.

POWERS OF THE COUNCIL

The Economic Council is a unique attempt to make government more representative, the like of which cannot be found in any other country. In many countries possessing a Parliamentary Government, especially France, powerful economic cliques are forced to buy or intimidate politicians, parties and parliamentary majorities. The German Economic Council, on the contrary, enables labor, capital and the consumer to exercise their influence upon the Government and the Legislature openly and legitimately. The members of the council represent the economic interests of the nation. They are subject solely to their conscience. They are not bound by instructions. Their vote cannot be challenged. Their speeches on the floor of the House are privileged. They have the right to refuse testimony as to the sources of their information, provided they receive the information in question in their capacity as members of the

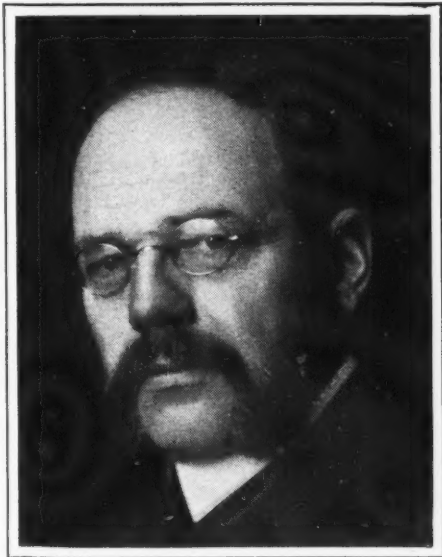
council. Their correspondence is free from seizure.

The councilors receive such compensation as may be agreed upon by the Ministers of Finance, Economy and Traffic. Members of the army or public officials need no leave of absence to participate in the proceedings of the council. Members of the council are pledged not to abuse confidential information. They are not permitted to reveal in public what transpires in closed session. Most sessions are public. The council selects its own officials. In the choice of officials the three groups—workers, employers and consumers—are entitled to equal representation. Votes, except on questions of business procedure, are by groups. Outvoted minorities have the right, both in the body as a whole and in the various groups, to present separate reports. Members of the Government are entitled to admission to all meetings of the council and of its separate committees. They must be heard. On the other hand the council can demand the presence of representatives of the Govern-

ment at its sessions. The various States of the German Federation are likewise entitled to place their opinions before the council.

Article XI. of the instrument creating the Economic Council is most important. It specifies that the Government must submit all social, political and economic legislation of basic importance to the council for its opinion before such measures are introduced in the Reichstag. What is more, the council has the right to demand such legislation. The second function of the council is to cooperate in the creation of workers' and employers' economic councils. Here the Soviet idea appears more boldly. The council is entitled to name permanent committees which must be heard by the various Ministries before they promulgate new regulations. If the interpretation of the committee differs from that of the Government, the latter may demand a vote on the subject by the council at large, unless the vote of the committee stands three to one. The committee may likewise appeal to the council at large under certain conditions. The council may insist that the Federal Government avail itself of its right to conduct inquiries on various social and economic questions and may demand that the information obtained be placed at its disposal. The council represents a curious transitional stage between a council and a parliamentary body. It enjoys parliamentary immunities without being able to legislate.

Appointments to the council are for life. Death, resignation, recall by the appointing organization, or loss of the qualifications upon the basis of which the selections were made, deprive members of their seats. There are 326 members. Sixty-eight represent farming and forestry. Twenty of this number are appointed by farmers' and peasants' organizations. Both the large landholders and the small farmers share in the selection of the delegates. Twenty-two members are appointed by the agricultural workers through their organizations. Vineyard workers, farm hands,



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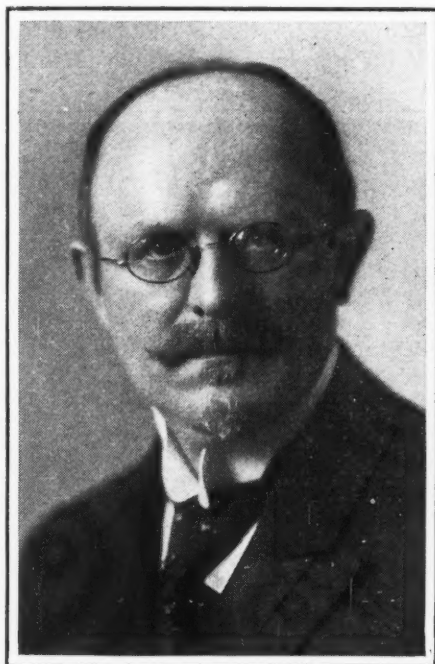
technical employes, each group is entitled to a certain number of representatives. The small farmers whose property is tilled by members of their own families are entitled to fourteen votes. Foresters, woodmen, and so forth, make up the balance. Gardening and fishing are entitled to fourteen members. Both employers and employes, and the various groups of workers, are represented in proportion to their numerical strength and importance. Next comes industry with sixty-eight votes. Its representatives are selected by unions, professional and commercial organizations. Two men representing the employes and two representing the owners are selected by the Federal Coal Council. One of each group is selected by the Federal Potash Council. Commerce, banking and insurance are entitled to forty-four representatives. The exporter and the importer, the small business man and the great industrial combine, the bank president and the bank clerk, every conceivable group, representing every conceivable branch of industry, are entitled to participate in the selection of their spokesmen. Traffic and public enterprises are entitled to 34 representatives. Shipping, navigation, aircraft, manufacturers of automobiles and chauffeurs' unions, railroad men, street car conductors and railroad managers, the State—each group selects its own spokesmen, and a certain number is appointed by the Federal Council. Public savings banks and credit organizations have four, the trades thirty-six representatives.

CONSUMERS REPRESENTED

The consumers have 30 representatives in the Council. Six of these are appointed by the cities. Two of this group must be selected from house owners', two from tenants' organizations. Various consumers' organizations have a definite status in contributing their quota to the total. The organization of German housewives and the restaurant business each name two representatives. Janitors and other "male house em-

ployes," servant girls and other "feminine house employes," and similar employes are entitled to select one representative for each class. Sixteen more members are named by the State employes and by the liberal professions. Newspaper men, lawyers, physicians, musicians and authors are each entitled to one, and the arts two. The Federal Council names twelve persons "especially familiar with economic conditions" and the Government selects twelve more persons "who have rendered distinguished services to German economic thought or the economic system or who are especially qualified to render such services."

In glancing over the list of members you will find Dr. Duisberg, spokesman for the dye industry; Dr. Sorge, President of the Federal League of German Industry and a director of Krupps; Herr von Borsig, head of the establishment producing locomotives that bear his name; great bankers, like Mendel-



DR. HEINRICH HELD

Leader of the Bavarian People's Party (Catholic Party), who has become Premier of Bavaria

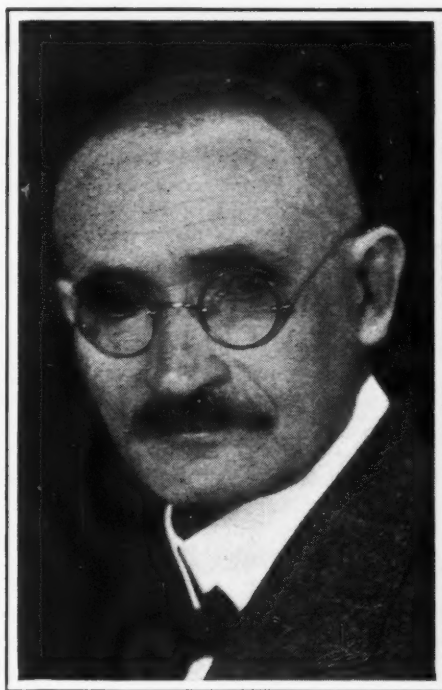
sohn and Salomonsohn of the Disconto Gesellschaft; Karl Fuerstenberg of the Berliner Handelsgesellschaft; Dr. W. Cuno, the former Chancellor; Dr. Luther, the Mayor of Berlin, and George Bernhard, editor of the *Vossische Zeitung* and Chairman of the Berlin Press Club. Department stores, manufacturers, distributors, each economic and occupational group designates its ablest leaders.

If the United States had an economic council similar to that in Germany, Congress, instead of being distracted by powerful lobbies, could obtain from it whatever authentic information on the economic needs of the country it required, since such a council would represent every important economic group. The very variety of the interests represented, the fact that they were chosen without regard to party affiliations, but solely as spokesmen of the various economic groups, and the character of the men and women selected, would result in their final decisions being determined by the common good. The captain of industry or the labor leader who could be tempted to sponsor or support selfish measures through obscure agents working in the dark would not sully his reputation by yielding to sordid self-interest or corruption. Thrust responsibility upon men, given them opportunity to argue their case in public and to compare notes with their fellows, and they will be found worthy of the trust reposed in them. To think otherwise is to despair of democracy.

BISMARCK'S PLAN

The idea of the Third House of Parliament in Germany was unquestionably inspired by the Russian revolution. Nevertheless the conception of government by trades and the representation of various economic groups in the government, advocated by the Bolsheviks, is not new. It can be traced back to Bismarck, who, in 1880, created the Prussian People's Economic Council.

Bismarck's plan was wrecked largely



FRANZ JOSEF PFLEGER
Prominent South German Political Leader

by the distrust and jealousy of the Reichstag, which suspected that the desire to strengthen the monarchy at the expense of parliamentary government was the real motive actuating the Chancellor. A vestige of this old distrust persists today. Both the Government and the Reichstag fear encroachments upon their prerogatives by the Business Parliament. Moreover, it has not been possible to eliminate politics entirely from the deliberations of the Council. The representatives of the trade unions seem to be unable to forget their Socialist Party affiliations, even when considering purely economic problems. Despite the difficulties it has to contend with, the factor of the increasing importance of economic problems in determining German policy both abroad and at home is likely to lead to the steady growth of the Business Parliament in influence and power. Being an institu-

tion without precedent, it is difficult to foretell the course of its evolution. Nevertheless, it is a fantastic notion that the Economic Council, or a similar body, representing capital and labor, will eventually replace parliamentary

government. The Council could not completely supplant parliamentary government, for the simple reason that the great questions of world power and world politics require a different field of vision.

Foundation of a New Germany

BY DR. ALFRED HUGENBERG

One of the most important spokesmen for German industry,
formerly managing director of Krupps

THE German Economic Council (Reichswirtschaftsrath) has a far greater importance than is so far realized. The politicians having failed utterly to cope with the problems that now confront Germany, the best thing they could do is to admit their impotence and leave them to be solved by the forces of industry. The only army fighting Germany's battles today is the industrial army. In the Ruhr the world beheld the unprecedented spectacle of a nation warding off a hostile military invasion solely with economic weapons. Even if passive resistance weakened and yielded in the Ruhr, this has by no means ended the battle of German industry to save the Fatherland.

The politicians who governed Germany were pitiful amateurs in the sphere of propaganda. The experience of centuries taught the German people what to expect from France, unless they were armed to the teeth. The fear of successive French invasions of German soil from the earliest times to Louis XIV., Napoleon and Poincaré are the root of German "militarism" before the war. Germans have not been able to make this fact plain. Now that, having lost the war, Germany is defenseless in the face of French imperialism, the world may revise its judgment. The world cannot seriously believe that Germany has arms or a concealed army. If there were such an army Germany would not endure the shame put upon her by the

insolence of the invader. It is only industry that still has weapons, it is only industry that still battles. Germany is compelled to fight its battle with proletarian weapons, strikes, passive resistance, and so forth. This is a sign that Germany is in danger of becoming a nation of proletarians. If we Germans grow faint of heart, if we lose, our defeat may spell the end of Germany. If we win, if we at least succeed in achieving an honorable compromise, albeit the compromise may be so worded as to save the face of French imperialism, we shall have won the battle.

A new Germany will arise. The war on the Ruhr revealed worker and owner, employer and employe, fighting side by side, in voluntary formations. As a result the new economic state is bound to take the place of the pseudo-parliamentary system that now plagues Germany. The Economic Council affords the nucleus for such a development. In free, creative labor Germany will construct new political forms, begotten of our soil, shaped by the genius of our people. Out of our ruins new life will blossom forth. The path before us is long and thorny. Dark days are before us. After all we have suffered in the war, its aftermath and its renewal by Poincaré, we Germans shall never see the light again unless misfortune steels our hearts and makes our spirit unconquerable.

A Month's World History

Events in the United States

BY ALBERT BUSHNELL HART

Professor of Government, Harvard University; Chairman of the Board of Current History Associates.

THE attention of the American people during the last month has been directed first of all to the results of the various conventions that nominated Presidential candidates and drew up the platforms on which they should stand. In many ways the present canvass recalls that of 1912, with its three main tickets, various minor tickets, and a variety of new issues and combinations.

President Coolidge now occupies a double position. As Republican candidate, virtual head of the Republican Party, and participator in the Republican canvass, he is bound to take sides in vital political issues. At the same time, as Chief Executive of the nation, he performs his duties of appointing the principal officers of the Federal Government and administering the laws of the United States. It is his right to direct his own campaign and his duty to act impartially as the President of all the people in all the States.

His public utterances during the month have been fewer than usual. On July 14—Bastille Day—he cabled congratulations to the President of the French Republic. It was announced on July 16 that President Coolidge would appoint an Advisory Committee of the National Republican Committee of about five members, representing different sections of the country; and that he expected to decide on the big policies of the campaign. It was further stated on July 18 that he did not expect to make speeches throughout the country, but would rely on radio to broadcast his addresses from the White House or elsewhere in that part of the country. General Dawes, as candidate for the Vice Presidency, is expected to make a country-wide campaign.

The President by telephone on July 26 paid a compliment to the Boy Scouts about to sail for Copenhagen as American representatives in the International Scout Field Meet. He praised the Boy Scout movement for cultivating a "reverence for nature" and a "reverence for law." The same day the President sent congratulations to the President of Liberia, and came out strongly in a formal letter favoring the celebration of National Defense Day on Sept. 12, holding that it might better be called "Inspection Day" than "Mobilization Day." He held it to be a "non-militaristic gesture for the purpose of keeping down to its lowest point the professional military organization of the United States—to bring to the people a reminder of their relations to, and dependence upon, this skeleton defense establishment in case our country be attacked."

On July 31 the President inspected the playgrounds and athletic fields of Washington. In answer to Governor Bryan of Nebraska he repeated his approval of the gathering of the military forces, with appropriate patriotic demonstrations. In answer to requests by the newspaper men, he declined to express himself on the question of the recent report of the Tariff Commission on an increase of sugar duties, intimating that he considered it to be his first and prime task to attend to the duties of the Presidency without furnishing campaign material. He sent a complimentary telegram on July 29 to the twenty-eight posts of the American Legion in the District of Columbia.

INVESTIGATIONS

Very few of the investigations which began with the oil scandals are now in

progress. The Democratic majority of the special committee of the Senate to investigate the Internal Revenue Bureau, together with Senator Couzens, Republican, who was made Chairman, announced on July 25 that they were about to resume their inquiry, which is aimed at Secretary Mellon. The committee on the contest over the seat of Senator Mayfield of Texas has voted to extend that investigation into new fields. The House committee on the management of soldiers' homes and hospitals is subdivided into six sub-committees, which will examine the condition of those institutions.

Suits have been entered against the Miller brothers of Oklahoma to restore title of certain lands to Indians. This is one of the cases which the opponents of Attorney General Daugherty brought to light as a failure to push to a decision showing neglect of duty. Edward L. Doheny, Edward L. Doheny Jr., and Albert B. Fall, all of whom are under indictment for offenses connected with the naval oil lands, filed bonds in Washington on July 19 for criminal trial. A civil suit is also pending against them in California. Harry F. Sinclair, concerned in the Teapot Dome Reserve, has appealed to the Court of Appeals of the District of Columbia on the question of the right of a Senate committee to ask questions about a man's private business. Nothing has been heard about the trial of Senator Wheeler in the Montana United States Court. Ex-Attorney General Daugherty has made no further effort to give testimony anywhere which might establish his innocence.

STATES, TERRITORIES AND DEPENDENCIES

In State affairs the most striking event of the month has been the continued deadlock in Rhode Island. It came to a head in an attempt to show that the Democrats arranged for the explosion of a gas bomb in the Senate Chamber; it turned into a sworn charge, backed up by Governor Flynn, that William C. Pelky, Chairman of the Republican State Central Committee, induced one

Toomey to place the bomb so as to disable the Lieutenant Governor, who was in the chair. This prosecution is backed up by the statement of one Lally that he actually saw the bomb placed by a man named Murray. The matter was complicated by the arrest in Massachusetts of a group of Rhode Island officials, who came over the border. Governor Cox of Massachusetts exonerated those who had made the arrest. The Rhode Island Republican Committee has condemned the so-called "bomb outrage" and promises to aid in punishing whoever was guilty. Meantime the Senate is still deadlocked; no appropriation bills have been passed, and no law for holding a State constitutional convention, which is the real issue.

At the other end of the country a controversy has arisen over the punishment of Carl O. Magee, editor of *The New Mexico State Tribune*, the man who first called public attention to the suddenly acquired wealth of Albert B. Fall. He was convicted in 1923 of libel and contempt of court for asserting that a certain Judge was too old to understand what was going on, and was pardoned by Governor Hinkle. He was tried a second time for libel and acquitted. In this third case he was sentenced to three months' imprisonment by Judge Leahy for contempt of court in criticizing decisions made by the Judge. The Governor immediately pardoned him, but Sheriff Delegardo refused to release him on the ground that the Governor had no power to pardon in contempt cases. This conflict in authority and law between a Governor and a Sheriff appears to have been ended on July 24 by the release of Magee on bond by the State Supreme Court.

The Philippine Islands seem quieter, though a controversy has arisen between the Insular Government and the States of Oregon and Washington on the issue whether they have the right to prohibit the use of cocoanut oil as an ingredient in food products. Governor General Wood sustained the salubrity of cocoanut oil; and the Philippine Government threatens a boycott against

canned salmon, butter and other products of the two States. A mutiny of members of the Philippine Scouts occurred, involving over 500 men, who refused to obey orders on the ground that their pay was less than that of white soldiers in the islands. This controversy somewhat resembles the refusal of the negro troops during the Civil War to accept a lower monthly rate of payment than was given to the white troops.

POLITICS AND POLITICAL CAMPAIGNS

The various Presidential and other candidates are now set for a couple of months' contests in the open field. The relation of the President to the Republican campaign has already been mentioned. Less has been heard in the last month of Private Secretary Slemph's relation to the canvass. National Chairman Butler had his forces organized to begin an active campaign immediately after the President's letter of acceptance. Mr. Butler has undertaken to report all contributions to the Republican campaign fund every fifteen days, through the Senate committee of which Senator Borah is Chairman. On the question of campaign issues he declares himself ready to meet the Democrats frankly on the character and reputation of the candidates if that is their plan of campaign. Both sides hope to make use of the radio as a campaign instrument. Doubts have arisen, however, as to whether it is really an efficient political method.

The Democratic campaign has also been rather slow in starting. John W. Davis, the candidate, retired to Dark Harbor, Me., on July 19. He was accompanied by Frank L. Polk of New York, who is taking an important part in the direction of the campaign. A great effort is to be made to carry his native State of West Virginia for him. Several important Democrats, including Andrew J. Peters, former Mayor of Boston, conferred with him at Dark Harbor. He declined to make any statement which indicated hostility to the Ku Klux

Klan. Before leaving New York, Davis announced that Clem L. Shaver, member of the Democratic National Committee from West Virginia, would be made Chairman of that committee. Mr. Shaver stated on July 29, in reply to a question, that the Ku Klux Klan "will be an issue in spots," and ought to be settled in each case by a local organization. A movement has started to eliminate from the rules of future Democratic Conventions the two-thirds and unit rules.

The Democratic organization in New York has been disturbed by two significant events. George W. Olvany, a local Judge, was made head of the Tammany organization on July 16, and resigned his judgeship. He is a man of political and legal experience, and of good reputation. The other subject of discussion was the attitude of Mayor Hylan and Governor Smith toward each other and toward the canvass. Mayor Hylan, who was the guest of William R. Hearst in California, announced on July 25 that "if the people of New York demand it," he would stand for Governor in the next campaign to succeed Governor Smith. Davis declined to make a personal appeal to Smith to run again, although upon the face of it the renomination of so popular a man would strengthen the national ticket. Governor Smith positively declared that he could not accept a renomination, but it was not certain that he would refuse. Tammany appeared to be in no frame of mind to accept Mayor Hylan as a substitute.

The Progressives have so far been the most active and outspoken of the parties. Senator Wheeler of Montana was the first important Democrat to declare (July 16) that he could not support Davis and would support La Follette; thereupon the Third Party made him their candidate for Vice President. "I am a Democrat, but not a Wall Street Democrat," said Wheeler. He accused the Democratic Convention of "completely losing sight of the fundamental principles of democracy and ignoring the great economic issues of the present hour."

The name of "Progressive Party" was formally adopted by the La Follette campaign committee, who chose the American Liberty Bell as their emblem. A voluntary committee of one hundred was formed, headed by Oswald Garrison Villard in New York and, including such well-known liberals as Norman Hapgood, John Haynes Holmes, Frederic C. Howe and Amos Pinchot, together with Morris Hillquit, the veteran leader of the Socialist Party. Victor L. Berger of Milwaukee has come out strongly for La Follette, as has Eugene V. Debs, another Socialist. The Conference for Progressive Political Action is a kind of steering committee of the La Follette movement and proposes to concentrate opposition on those Republican or Democratic members of the House who have been opposed to measures for the relief of labor and of the farmers. The Third Party, therefore, started out not only with the La Follette followers, but with a large body of Socialists within and without the Socialist Party. The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor in their convention endorsed the nomination of La Follette and Wheeler, while not pledging themselves to the party or platform. The Progressives, confronted with the need of a campaign fund, hoped by a multitude of small subscriptions, to raise \$3,000,000. They claimed that the groups that had already agreed to support La Follette made up 12,000,000 votes.

The Prohibition Party, which claimed to be "the real Progressive Party," painfully felt the lack of funds for their campaign. The Association against the Prohibition Amendment decided to confine its efforts to the task of electing sixty additional "wet" representatives to the House so that they would be able to amend the Volstead act, and legalize a 2.75 per cent. alcoholic content.

The sudden jump in the prices of wheat, corn and pork, which appeared to be due to a partial failure of the crop in Canada and other parts of the world, was counted on to reduce the

disaffection of Western farmers, particularly of Republicans.

FINANCE AND BUSINESS

Whatever else comes up for discussion during the next couple of months, there is bound to be a very hard drive against both the old parties, on the ground that they are protecting the banking and corporation interests, to the detriment of the plain people and particularly of the farmer. A considerable section of the Democratic Party looks with suspicion on John W. Davis because his business is that of counsel to large corporations. The drive of the Progressives is for new legislation which will regulate trusts and help the classes that labor in industry and in agriculture. The big business men, however, seem to feel very little apprehension that the election will result in a new type of control either in the National or State Government.

Presidential election years are supposed to be bad for trade, but business and employment hold up well. Bankers are disturbed by the fact that we are still importing gold—nearly \$250,000,000 in the last six months—thus adding to the immense stock which makes the United States at the present moment the world reservoir of gold. Measured by the cost of government, the country would seem to have a large annual surplus. In New York City the tentative budget (July 24) calls for about \$430,000,000 as against \$375,000,000 last year. That is, the people of the city are expected to contribute about \$70 per capita. The Bonus Bill has drawn so far about 1,000,000 applications for benefits. Preparations are being made to issue the insurance certificates on Jan. 1, 1925, and to make the small cash payments on March 1.

The rise in the price of wheat means not only a change of sentiment as to political candidates, but a tremendous financial relief to the farmer, to the storekeepers and to the banker. The wheat crop in the Southern part of the wheat belt is already harvested and in the Northern area is now being

gathered, so that no change of conditions can greatly affect the size of the crop. The price is, of course, determined by the proportion that the world crop bears to the world demand; and crop failures in Russia and elsewhere promise a favorable market to the American export crop. It is expected that the grain will bring something like \$200,000,000 more than last year. Corn and other cereals share in the rise. Wheat was quoted on Aug. 7 at about \$1.29 a bushel, which was 30 cents above the price on the same day last year.

The farmers had already been organizing in the Northwest to establish a grain forwarding system in the management of which they could share. An organization of grain companies, owning more than a thousand elevators in the Northwest, helped in this movement by offering on July 30 to sell its entire holdings to the American Farm Bureau Federation—a cooperative organization, which by the terms of its charter can take no profits. At the other end of agricultural organization, stand the producers close corporations on the Pacific Coast. United States Attorney General Stone has brought suit against the Seattle Produce Association on a charge of restraint of trade in its transactions with the growers of fruit. A complaint brought before the Federal Trade Commission against the Douglas Fir Exploitation and Export Company, acting in concert with 107 lumber concerns has been dismissed for lack of proof. On the other hand the same Commission ruled on July 22 that the "Pittsburgh Plus" system carried on by the United States Steel Corporation was illegal. Under that system purchasers of steel products manufactured at other points than Pittsburgh are charged the freight, not from the nearest producing mills, but from Pittsburgh Plus, which, the Commission held, added \$30,000,000 to the cost of steel used by farmers in Western States. Thirty-two State Governments joined in these proceedings. The Tariff Commission recently made an investigation of the tariff on sugar in connection with a charge

that the sugar trust was attempting to control the growing of sugar in Cuba. A special report made on the subject has not yet been made public.

No serious mining controversies are now going on. A large amount of anthracite has been mined, and is awaiting shipment. Recent statistics show that oil comes next to the packing industry in the annual value of the product. In addition to the immense domestic use, the total of exported gasoline, fuel oil and lubricants in the year 1923 amounted to nearly 3,000,000,000 gallons. It must not be forgotten, however, that practically all the new "pools," or oil areas, after about a year fall off in production.

A new era in electric power is plainly before us. For some years engineers and owners of power plants in the Northeastern States have been working to bring about a system which would unite all the prime sources of electricity into one network, which should receive and distribute the power wherever needed. A report on this subject (July 22) by the Northeastern Superpower Company, whose head is Secretary Hoover, describes plans for connecting all the Northeastern water powers, which, however, can furnish only about one-fourth of the power needs. The remaining three-fourths are to be developed by immense steam plants placed at the most favorable points for receiving coal and for supplementing the water power. This system would bring about a saving of about 50,000,000 tons of coal a year.

TRANSPORTATION AND COMMUNICATIONS

The main question in transportation is still the regrouping of all the railroads of the country into a small number of systems, each serving a particular region. Semi-official announcement was made by bankers on Aug. 7 of the proposed consolidation of the Nickel Plate, the Chesapeake & Ohio, the Hocking Valley, the Père Marquette and the Erie into a single railroad system with total assets of approximately \$1,500,000,000 and a total trackage of 14,357

miles, including all third and fourth tracks and switches. This undertaking, the largest merger to date under the Transportation act of 1920, was engineered by the Van Sweringen interests of Cleveland, supported by the First National Bank of New York and J. P. Morgan & Co. of New York. The new Nickel Plate system is the fourth largest trunk line system between the Atlantic Coast and the Mississippi River, being a direct competitor of such railroads as the New York Central, the Pennsylvania and the Baltimore & Ohio. Among the large cities it reaches are New York, Chicago, St. Louis, Cleveland, Peoria, Newport News, Toledo, Detroit and Buffalo, and it has two outlets on the Atlantic seaboard, through New York over the Erie Railroad and through Newport News over the Chesapeake & Ohio.

Some complaints have been made that the managers of our railroads are overpaid, which resulted in a table showing that the Presidents of the roads received \$4,000,000 out of \$6,400,000,000 of receipts a year, which is equivalent to a salary of \$400 a year for the head of a corporation selling \$640,000. It was stated on July 24 that the United States held \$200,000,000 advanced to the railroads as a part of the war arrangements with the roads. Both the railroads and the trolley lines are suffering from the competition of autos, and particularly of jitneys. In towns as far distant from each other as Gloucester, Mass., and Everett, Wash., the trolley tracks have been taken up and replaced by regular jitney lines. And many miles of inter-urban trolleys have been abandoned, especially in New England. The possibilities of automobile traffic in cities are now being tested in New York, where, beginning about July 26, a large group of taxi companies cut their rates to 20 cents a mile, thus bringing the cost per mile for five people down to about that of railroad tickets for the same distance. Some of the taxi owners reported larger receipts at the low rate than at the previous higher rate; but there was no prospect that short-ride

traffic could long remain at those figures.

In various parts of the United States companies are pushing for an increase of telephone rates. In New York a 10 per cent. increase in exchange rates was allowed by the Federal court July 28. The question of increase turns upon the value of the plant, the companies claiming that they are entitled in calculating the fair rate of dividend on a capital valuation, based over the amount which it would cost now to reproduce the plant, and not on the actual investment. The use of the radio in the Cleveland and New York party conventions is a proof that the system can be very widely used to advantage. At the same time there is great confusion at present, owing to interference of wave lengths and to the irresponsible action of the owners of small sets. Some kind of general regulation by law (which would be of very little service unless it came from the Federal Government) seems to be necessary.

FOREIGN RELATIONS

The systematic reorganization and concentration of our diplomatic and consular service under the order of May 24 still continues; and announcements are made from time to time of transfers of officials from one country to another or to service in the State Department.

The fourth session of the Institute of Politics at Williamstown for the study of international problems began on July 31. Among the speakers were public men and leaders in labor and finance from several European countries—England, France, Germany, Japan and Russia. Distinguished financiers were also called in to speak on questions of international trade and finance.

Secretary of State Hughes has been a world figure as uncommissioned representative of the United States in England and other countries. Although he made the trip unofficially, as a member of the Bar Association, his visits to London, Paris, Brussels and Berlin were not without considerable importance.

It appears from a statement by Rob-

ert Bonyng, the American agent before the Mixed Claims Commission to adjudicate our war claims against Germany, that out of claims of \$1,500,000,000 about two-thirds had been adjusted in some form. About \$75,000,000 in money has been awarded; but the commission refused to allow claims for special war risk premiums, apparently on the ground that the extra profit due to the war absorbed that payment; in case of loss, of course, the insured concern was recouped under its policy. The American embassy in London, under instructions from Washington, sent a representative to attend "for purposes of information" a meeting of a committee of the World War Foreign Debt Commission.

The difficulties in securing a two-thirds majority for the Treaty of Versailles, and for various earlier and later treaties, has led John W. Davis to suggest that the Constitution be so altered that treaties, like the ordinary statutes, should be ratified by a majority of both houses.

Eamon de Valera, recently released from prison by the Government of the Irish Free State, was denied by Supreme Court Justice Burr of New York the authority to take part in a law suit over the ownership of a fund of \$2,500,000 collected by friends of Ireland, and still deposited in New York banks (July 26). The case involves the question whether the republic was ever the Government of Ireland.

LAW AND ORDER

An interesting discussion has arisen over the status of General Smedley D. Butler, Director of Public Safety, and thus head of the Police Department of Philadelphia. It was stated in the press on July 20 that Mayor Kendrick was about to remove the director, who was appointed for a four-year term. The immediate issue appears to be the action of Butler in combining groups of police stations into central stations which were harder for politicians to handle; and thereby bringing down upon him the wrath of the political leaders who have

thriven through their control of the police. About 500 of the Philadelphia churches have joined in a memorial asking that General Butler be retained.

The most significant criminal trial during the month, and indeed for many years, was that of Leopold and Loeb for the murder of young Franks in Chicago—a city in which there were 205 murders in the first 213 days of 1924. The trial was unusual in that both the criminals made a full and nauseous confession of their crime; and that their counsel made no demand for a jury but left the case entirely in the hands of Judge Caverly, who ruled, after hearing expert testimony to the contrary, that the young men were sane.

The Ku Klux Klan have been making demonstrations in New England. At Haverhill, Spencer and Lancaster, Mass., there were clashes between Klansmen who were trying to hold an initiation and a crowd of spectators. The Massachusetts authorities have adopted the plan of disarming all persons proceeding to the scene of a "Klavern" and confiscating their weapons.

SOCIAL AND SCIENCE

A recent statement of city population by the Census Bureau (July 18) showed 79 cities with a population of 100,000 or more. The largest are New York, 6,000,000; Chicago, nearly 3,000,000; Philadelphia, nearly 2,000,000; Detroit over a million; Cleveland, 900,000; St. Louis, 800,000; Baltimore and Boston just under 800,000. Then follow in sequence, Los Angeles, Pittsburgh, San Francisco, Buffalo, Milwaukee, Washington, Newark, Minneapolis, New Orleans, Cincinnati—all over 400,000. In general the tendency of American cities is for the small cities to grow faster in proportion than the towns, and the large cities to grow faster than the small cities.

A convention which attracted considerable attention was that of the Universal Negro Improvement Association, which began in New York on Aug. 1, under Marcus Garvey, the President General of the African Republic. He

favors a new religious system under which God shall be black and the devil white.

An interesting event in education is the transfer by the Carnegie Corporation of New York of \$8,000,000 to the Carnegie Institute of Pittsburgh (making \$38,000,000 in all), with a promise of \$8,000,000 more.

LABOR AND IMMIGRATION

The running fight between the railroad unions and the Federal Labor Board still goes on. Railroad men have refused to appear as witnesses under the subpoena of the board. Ben W. Hooper, Chairman of the board, is moving for calling in the witnesses by contempt proceedings of the courts.

Henry Ford has posted a notice at his Detroit factory to the effect that he would immediately dismiss "any man found to have the odor of beer, wine or other liquor on his breath, or to have intoxicants on his person or in his house."

Immigration has accommodated itself to the new law and the 2 per cent. quota. Secretary of Labor Davis has ruled (July 15) that the act of Feb. 5, 1917, is still in force, in so far as it prevents aliens coming from Hawaii in the United States, and that applies to the 109,000 Japanese now resident in Hawaii. The charges made against the management of Ellis Island by Miss Anna Hans, a German, have been declared by Commissioner Curran to be "maliciously false."

MILITARY AND NAVAL

In army matters the principal event of the month has been the round-the-world flight of the army planes, one of which reached Iceland by the air and another got into the sea and was towed to Iceland. Everywhere the American fliers were received with enthusiasm, both in Asia and in Europe. They dropped flowers at the tomb of the unknown soldier in Paris and were received and welcomed by the President of the republic.

Considerable discussion has been

aroused by the general order issued for the assemblage of national and State troops and their transportation on Sept. 12, the object being to see how far it was possible to bring the defensive strength of the United States into concentration units in a short space of time. Governor Baxter of Maine and Governor Blaine of Wisconsin refused to aid or participate in the demonstration. William Jennings Bryan objected because, "unless the effect is to frighten other nations, it may be accepted as a suggestion that they show us their military toys." Mr. Davis, Democratic candidate, stated that he was in sympathy with Governor Bryan in his refusal to cooperate. Secretary Weeks on Aug. 3 made public a letter to a clergyman, explaining the purposes of the War Department with regard to the observance of Defense Day. The letter was in response to an inquiry concerning the nature of the proposed "defense test." Replying to a specific request for a definition of the term "mobilization," used in the War Department's orders, Mr. Weeks stated that the event would not in fact be a "general mobilization," but "only a demonstration of mobilization plans." He contended that the demonstration planned might be compared to a fire drill in a school for the safety of the children, and that there was nothing militaristic in the project, declaring that it would "apprise the world of our friendly purposes as a nation."

CATASTROPHES

A collision between the Eastern Steamship Company's Boston and the oil tanker Swift Arrow took place off Point Judith, R. I., on July 19. Four persons were killed, 526 were rescued and the ship floated. Very heavy forest fires have caused great damage and some loss of life on the Pacific Coast and British Columbia. The War Department ordered aid to be given for controlling the flames, to which Governor Richardson of California replied that "California is menaced more by the blazing of yellow journalism than by fire."

Mexico and Central America

By CHARLES W. HACKETT,

Associate Professor of Latin-American History, University of Texas

RELATIONS between the United States and Mexico "are today on a more satisfactory basis than at any time since the latter part of the Diaz Administration. President Obregon, furthermore, have a greater control over the domestic situation * * * and a more stable Government exists in Mexico than at any time since the Administration of Diaz." This statement was made by Charles B. Warren, United States Ambassador to Mexico, on Aug. 2, the day after he arrived in Washington from Mexico to place his resignation in the President's hands. Mr. Warren on July 14 had announced his intention to resign.

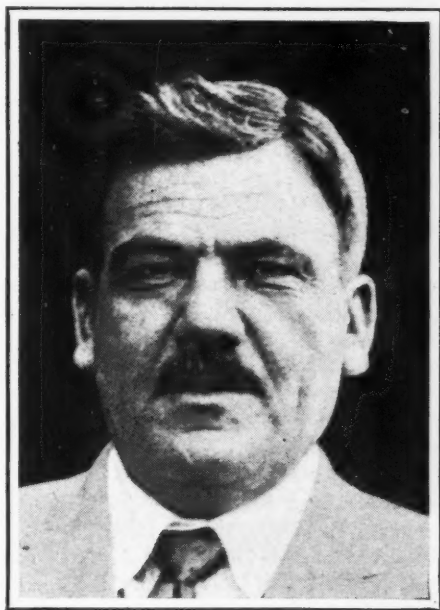
Proof of the cordial relations that exist between Mexico and the United States is seen in the acceptance by the Mexican Government of the proposal for the appointment of delegates by the postal authorities of the two countries for the purpose of drawing up postal regulations similar to those embodied in a convention existing between the United States and Canada; the compliance of the Mexican Foreign Office with a request of Ambassador Warren that the Mexican authorities take steps to apprehend certain United States criminals. With a view to deporting them to the United States for trial, and the willingness of the Mexican Government to negotiate a treaty of commerce with the United States. These facts were confirmed, or announced, by Ambassador Warren on July 12.

With respect to the proposed commercial treaty, Ambassador Warren advised the Mexican Government that a postponement of the subject would be necessary, pending the drafting of a similar treaty between the United States and Germany that would serve as a model for future treaties signed by the United States and other nations.

Shortly before leaving Mexico, Am-

bassador Warren discussed the case of Mrs. Rosalie Evans, a British subject, with the Mexican Foreign Office. The newspaper *El Universal* reported on July 18 that the matter was to be allowed to remain in status quo until Mr. Warren's successor was named. Dispatches of Aug. 3 stated that Mrs. Evans had been shot from ambush and killed while driving in the vicinity of her hacienda near Puebla.

The Pan-American Conference on Electrical Communications held its final session in Mexico City on July 21. The work of the conference was devoted to promoting means for equalizing the rates between privately-owned lines of communications, as in the United States, and Government-owned ones, as in Central and South America. During the sessions of the conference, differences



Wide World

GENERAL PLUTARCO E. CALLES
President-elect of Mexico, who is visiting Europe before beginning his term of office

of opinion developed solely with respect to the different policies of the several Governments represented. On the basis that the United States believed that inter-American communications could best be extended by encouraging the investment of private capital, and that the United States was not in accord with a policy which fixed arbitrary rates, the United States delegate, A. H. Babcock, opposed certain provisions of a convention that was adopted on July 16. These provisions, he felt, would lead to the establishment of a permanent union to promote Government ownership of communications and would regulate inter-American communications in a manner that would interfere with rights of management under private ownership in the United States.

El Aguila Petroleum Company at Tampico on July 17 reached an agreement with its striking workmen, who agreed to return to work on July 21, four months after the strike began. This agreement brought to an end one of the longest strikes in Mexico during recent years. From the day that it was initiated it constituted the most remarkable instance of industrial unrest in Mexico, gradually involving other important industries in the conflict. For example, the Confederation of Railroad Brotherhoods agreed on July 15 not to move after July 20 a single tank of oil belonging to El Aguila Company, in case it had not come to a settlement with its striking workers. Modification of a provision by which El Aguila Company insisted on the right to dismiss workers is reported to have paved the way for a settlement of the strike. A strike of bakers at Vera Cruz began on July 17 for the purpose of securing shorter hours of work.

Managers of the Calles Presidential campaign announced on July 18 that tabulation of the Presidential vote cast on July 6 in 238 out of 266 electoral districts in Mexico showed 1,301,947 votes in favor of General Plutarco Elias Calles. Dispatches of July 12 from Mexico City stated that supporters of General Angel Flores for the Presi-

dency were determined to hold a national plebiscite in order to prove to Congress their "overwhelming victory" over General Calles and to prevent the "imposition" of Calles as President of Mexico. Flores supporters on July 17 again charged fraud in the counting of the Presidential votes. General Flores denied on July 30 widespread reports that he was planning a revolution, and urged his party to conserve its "unity to continue the struggle along democratic lines." According to *El Excelsior*, President Obregón intends to retire to private life upon the expiration of his Presidential term on Dec. 1.

Since the suspension of interest payments on the national debt on July 1, the Mexican Government has adopted a program of strict economy and retrenchment in the expenditure of public funds. Finance Minister Pani on July 16 ordered the suspension of payment of back salaries to Government employees, except in cases of extreme necessity, and the application of funds to the payment of current salaries only. The War Department announced on July 18 that orders to reduce the national army to 55,000 men were being carried out and that within two months all the irregulars would have been discharged. In carrying out its policy of retrenchment, the Government discharged more than 1,000 employees during the week preceding July 28; the same day the discharge of 400 employees of the Department of Belles Artes was announced. During July the number of automobiles of the Department of the Interior was reduced from twenty to six. President Obregón announced on July 30 that it was hoped to effect a saving of \$12,000,000 annually by departmental economies.

Frequent reports emanated from Mexico during July to the effect that there would be an early discussion between representatives of the petroleum industry and the Mexican Government with reference to a basis for the future development of the oil industry, particularly with reference to lands leased before the Constitution of 1917. The

Association of Producers of Petroleum in Mexico announced in New York on July 31 that from three to five of its members would shortly thereafter go to Mexico to confer with Mexican officials regarding petroleum legislation and the development of oil lands in that country. From Mexico City it was reported on July 12 that Mexico was then producing 2,500,000 barrels of oil per week; that the Mexican Petroleum and the Royal Dutch Companies were the two largest producers, in the order named; and that the quantity of oil in tanks at Tampico awaiting shipment was 22,000,000 barrels. Oil shipments from Mexico during June, totaling 11,253,677 barrels, was 1,205,303 barrels less than the shipments for May.

In order to be able to move the cotton crop of the Laguna region of Northern Mexico, estimated at 200,000 bales, Director General Llano of the National Railways of Mexico has requested the railways of the United States to rent 1,000 freight cars to the National Railways, pending the delivery to them of recently purchased rolling stock sufficient for their needs.

The Mexican Government on July 15 granted a ten-year concession to the Mexican Aviation Company for the establishment of an airplane passenger and mail service between Mexico City and Tampico.

The Mexican ports of Salina Cruz, Puerto Mexico and Guaymas, and the interior town of Rincón Antonio, were formally opened as free ports by the Mexican Free Port Commission during the latter part of July.

President Obregón on July 14 ordered that military commanders who fought in the recent rebellion should frequently be assigned to different commands. An important change was that of General Gómez, chief of military operations in the Federal District, who was ordered to relieve General Escobar as chief of operations in the State of Chihuahua. President Obregón's announced purpose in decreeing these changes was to prevent any of the military commanders from becoming local

political leaders. El Excelsior stated, on July 17, that the decree had created a sensation.

Because bands of agrarians in various parts of Mexico, who had been supplied with arms to help suppress the de la Huerta rebellion, were proving a menace to the public safety, and also as a precautionary measure on the eve of the elections, the War Department on July 3 ordered that these groups be immediately disarmed. The execution of the order at Maltrata on July 9 resulted in an armed clash in which several agrarians and soldiers were killed. Three days later orders for the immediate disarming of the agrarians were sent to all military commanders. Reports of July 10 stated that the agrarians had instituted a reign of terror in certain parts of the State of Puebla. Later, on July 17, it was reported that groups of agrarians in Guanajuato, Jalisco and Vera Cruz were resisting the decree that they be disarmed. Agrarians of San Luis Potosi and Aguascalientes were disarmed without having offered resistance.

Nicaragua

ACTING under instructions of President Martinez, Nicaragua Minister for Foreign Affairs Urtecho, on July 16, notified the United States Department of State that prominent Conservatives and Liberals, in the interest of international concord, had agreed on Carlos Solozano, Conservative, and Juan-Bautista Sacasa, Liberal, for President and Vice President, respectively, of Nicaragua, and that they desired to know whether the Department of State would "look with favor on the alliance for the organization of national Government." Replying the same day, the Department of State advised that the United States Government had no preference whatever regarding Presidential candidates in Nicaragua; that it neither supported nor was hostile to any candidate there; that it desired only that free and fair elections should be held; and that it felt that "the trans-

ference of the centre of political activity of Nicaragua to Washington would be detrimental to the Government's interests, and this Government therefore cannot express its views regarding any ticket."

The desire was expressed that no candidate not prohibited from holding the Presidency by Article II. of the Treaty of Peace and Amity, signed at Washington on Feb. 7, 1923, and ratified by the Nicaraguan Congress on June 21, 1924, should be impeded from presenting his candidacy to the electors of Nicaragua. Assurance was given that any person freely and fairly elected in accordance with the electoral law and the Constitution of Nicaragua would be recognized by the Government of the United States, which would gladly "lend him its advice and counsel."

Señor Toribio Tijerino, Nicaraguan Consul General and Financial Agent in New York, announced on July 11 that the debt of the Nicaraguan Government, contracted in October, 1920, from New York banking houses, and for which the Pacific Railroad of Nicaragua had been put up as collateral, had been liquidated and that the railroad once more was the exclusive property of the Nicaraguan Government.

Honduras

THREE hundred Honduran laborers at Puerto Castillo on July 10 petitioned Provisional President Tosta to remove all negroes from the entire Atlantic Coast; in case their request was not complied with, the petitioners threatened to take the law into their own hands and to exterminate the negroes. The murder of a Honduran citizen by Jamaican negroes was the occasion for the above action.

The United States Department of State notified Provisional President Tosta in mid-July that the United States Government would base its future policy in the recognition of Central American Governments upon the provisions of Article II. of the General Treaty of Peace and Amity, signed at Washington by

delegates of the five Central American republics on Feb. 7, 1923. Provisional President Tosta was further notified that the United States Government would not recognize any Honduran Government headed by a leader of the recent revolutionary movement or by one who had held a high post or command in the revolt.

Leaders of the recent revolutionary factions were reported on July 14 to have agreed upon Louis Borgan as a candidate for the Presidency of Honduras.

Dispatches dated Aug. 7 reported a new phase of revolutionary turmoil. A telegram from Managua, Nicaragua, stated that two Americans had been killed in San Marcos de Colon, Honduras, when General Peralta, the revolutionary leader, attacked the village. Government forces were sent from Managua to guard the frontier, and it was also reported that the American marines in Honduras had been sent to the border to repel the revolutionists. A message from Tegucigalpa stated that War Minister General Gregorio Ferrera had fled from the capital to the mountains on the morning of Aug. 7, taking with him a large number of troops and a large quantity of arms and ammunition, in open rebellion against the Government. Vigorous revolutionary activities had already begun near the Nicaraguan border. The peace treaty signed on board the United States cruiser Milwaukee at Amapala in May had, it was pointed out, proved unsuccessful in maintaining peace. The Cabinet was reformed, Salvador Agirre became Foreign Minister, General Martinez Funes took the portfolio of War and Felipe Calix became Minister of the Interior to succeed General Tiburcio Carlas, who had resigned. A dispatch from United States Minister Franklin E. Morales at Tegucigalpa to the State Department indicated that the Liberal Party in Honduras was held responsible for the new outbreak, as it asserted that the provisional authorities had arrested "all the principal leaders of the Liberal Party."

Panama

IN a formal report issued on July 11 by the Department of Anthropology of the American Museum of Natural History, the opinion was expressed that the three young Indians recently carried to New York by Richard O. Marsh from Panama were not white, but were typical Indians of the albino type, except in two respects, namely, a great diminution of pigment and heads a trifle shorter and higher than those of the darker members of their tribe. Other scientists had previously declared that the children were white and not albinos.

Toll receipts of the Panama Canal for the fiscal year ended June 30 amounted to \$24,290,963.54, which was an increase of \$6,692,548.69 over the receipts for the preceding fiscal year. Commercial vessels passing through the canal during the fiscal year ended June 30 totaled 5,230, as compared with 3,967 vessels in the preceding fiscal year. These figures represent for the fiscal year 1923-1924 an increase of 31.8 per cent. in transit and an increase of 38.7 per cent. in tolls. During the last fiscal year 250 more vessels passed through the canal from the Atlantic to the Pacific than passed through it from the Pacific to the Atlantic.

Dr. Edward Cheri, in announcing on July 31 his resignation from the Panama Treaty Commission, which has been conferring with a United States commission in Washington since March, stated that there was a deadlock on two vital issues.

El Salvador

BY a decree of the President, a free reference and circulating library, to be known as the Library of Popular Culture, has been created as a part of the National Library of El Salvador. Main reading rooms in each of the departmental capitals and branches in each town are provided for in the decree. The books included in the special library cover such subjects as

morals, civic education, practical science, agriculture and industry. The local librarians are to give weekly lectures on agriculture and industrial subjects.

Costa Rica

COSTA RICA has been presented with two powerful radio stations by the Mexican Government, the expressed purpose being to strengthen the relations between the two countries.

Cuba

CUBAN Secretary of State de Cespedes issued a statement on July 25 asserting that charges of mistreatment in Cuba of British West Indian subjects had been found upon investigation to be matters for civil action in civil courts and not for diplomatic intervention.

As a means of combating typhoid fever, which is prevalent throughout Cuba, the compulsory inoculation against the disease for every person in Cuba was ordered by a Presidential decree of Aug. 2. Compulsory inoculation against typhoid had been instituted in Havana several weeks earlier.

According to Vice Consul Fisher at Havana, 200,000 immigrants in Cuba from every quarter of the earth, who desire to reach the United States, were barred from entry into the latter country by the new immigration law which became effective on July 1.

Dominican Republic

GENERAL HORACIO VASQUEZ and Federico Velásquez were formally inaugurated as President and Vice President, respectively, of the Dominican Republic on July 12. At the same time, the American flag was lowered from the fort and the Dominican emblem was hoisted. These acts brought to an end the military administration of the United States in the Dominican Republic that was proclaimed on Nov. 29, 1916, because of the instability and ir-

regular procedure of the Dominican Government.

William E. Pulliam, United States Receiver General of Dominican Customs under the terms of the Treaty of 1907 between the United States and the Dominican Republic, asserted in a formal report, which was made public in Washington on July 13, that the Dominican Republic was "paying its national indebtedness too rapidly at a time when it needs additional funds with which to meet its ordinary expenses, and the increased customs receipts, over \$3,000,000, automatically increase this rate of payment." Pulliam recommended that this situation should receive careful attention. During 1923 the aggregate customs receipts of the Dominican Republic were \$3,625,621.22, as against the budget estimate of \$3,000,000.

During the same year a reduction of \$1,389,508.60 was made in the bonded indebtedness of the Dominican Republic, leaving on Dec. 31, 1923, a balance outstanding of \$13,412,209.83.

Jamaica

AT a conference on health problems at Kingston on July 22 the Acting Governor of the island, in opening the conference, thanked the United Fruit Company for having arranged the conference and expressed gratitude to the Rockefeller Institute for its work in Jamaica.

A visiting squadron of three British war cruisers reached Kingston on July 26. No British war vessels are regularly assigned to British West Indian waters.

South America

By HARRY T. COLLINGS,
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PUBLIC interest in South America was divided during July and August between the brief revolt in Brazil and the visit of Crown Prince Humberto of Italy. The revolution, which threatened for a time to upset the plans of the Italian royal party, was completely crushed at the end of July, after several weeks of hard fighting in the State of Sao Paulo; on July 27 the Italian naval division which conveyed the Crown Prince and his party arrived at Bahia, Brazil. The royal traveler then went to Rio de Janeiro, after which he spent ten days in Buenos Aires and in other Argentinian cities on the east coast. On the return of the party, stops were made in Uruguay and at several Brazilian ports. Though this visit was not of an official character, the Prince was everywhere greeted as a royal visi-

tor. The Italian Government regards favorably the ties being formed between Italy and Eastern South America through Italian colonization.

In an effort to find larger markets the Italian Government has fitted up a modern vessel of 10,000 tons, the *Italia*, as a floating exposition of home products, and has sent it on a cruise around South America. The ship has spent from one to ten days each in the principal ports on the east coast, and during July and August visited Chile, Peru, Ecuador and the West Indies.

Following an announcement made recently in New York by Señor Abraham Martinez regarding the establishment of airplane service between North and South America, serious consideration is being given the project in South America. The Colombian Government has

definitely announced its readiness to appropriate money for this purpose. Radio communication also is being developed between the two continents. General James G. Harbord, President of the Radio Corporation of America, announced in New York on July 24 that arrangements have been made by which his firm will have unlimited opportunities to develop radio broadcasting in the Latin nations of the New World. An ambitious program to stimulate interest in radio among South American peoples has already been framed.

Japanese immigration continued its diversion from North to South America, as result of the exclusion law recently enacted in the United States; on June 24, 430 Japanese immigrants sailed from Kobe for Brazil. This is double the usual number carried, and the increase excited comment in the Tokio press wherein it was regarded as significant.

Argentina

PROPOSALS for changing the Constitution of Argentina have been engaging national attention. On July 1 Deputy Leopoldo Bard presented a bill to suppress articles in the present Constitution referring to Catholicism, including Article 2 which declares that the Government supports the Roman Catholic Church. Freedom of belief has long existed in the Argentine, but this bill would bring about a more complete separation of Church and State. It also proposes to increase the number of Cabinet Ministers to eleven, and to change the present method of opening legislative sessions.

The Minister of Public Works, Señor Eufasio Loza, presented his resignation to President Alvear on June 26. Fears were felt that his retirement might bring about further difficulty in the Cabinet; so, following a conference with the President, Señor Loza consented to withdraw his resignation. An official communication issued by President Alvear stated that the resignation had been occasioned by a difference of

opinion in regard to certain administrative affairs. The most important legislative action of late was the approval by the Senate on July 19 of the elevation to Embassies of the Argentine Legations at Rome and Mexico City.

The Argentine polo team won the international championship at the Olympic Games in Paris July 6, by a victory of 6 to 5 over the United States team. The American team had previously defeated the teams of both France and Spain.

The broadcasting of radio messages in Argentina has become of sufficient importance to call for legislative control. On July 1 a law was enacted dividing the Republic into nineteen zones, each with appropriate letter designation, so that the origin of messages may be located. This law also provides that broadcasting stations be divided into two classes, those using less than 500 volts, and those using more.

Reports recently made public showed a substantial increase in Argentina's foreign trade. According to Government figures, the country's exports during 1923 totaled 1,639,000,000 gold pesos, marking an increase of 274,000,000 pesos over the figures of 1922. Reporting on Argentina's imports, the Department of Commerce of the United States announced on July 1 that, of a total of 9,420 passenger motor vehicles bought by Argentina from foreign nations during 1923, 8,717 were of American make.

San Martin, leader in the war for independence of the Argentine early in the nineteenth century, is the George Washington of Argentina. A statue of this South American patriot has been presented to the United States for erection in Washington. The American Legion of the Munson Steamship Line, on its voyage from Buenos Aires July 1, conveyed the statue to New York.

Brazil

A MILITARY uprising against the Brazilian Government occupied the attention of authorities in the States

of Rio de Janeiro and Sao Paulo during the early part of July. A small group of soldiers in those States revolted, executing a coup d'état on July 6. The City of Sao Paulo, the commercial metropolis of the coffee district, was occupied by the revolutionists for two weeks, at the end of which time an attack by the Federals was successful and the rebels evacuated. The situation was under complete control of the Federal Government by the end of July. The following excerpts are taken from an official communication of the Minister of Foreign Affairs relative to the situation: "There occurred this morning (July 6) in the capital of the State of Sao Paulo a military uprising of minor importance. The Government of the State, by vigorous measures, prevented a spread of the movement. The Federal Government, when informed of the situation, took immediate measures to re-establish order. The National Congress voted unanimously a state of siege. The situation in all States is calm. From all parts of the country come manifestations of loyalty to the Government. The navy and all Federal garrisons remained faithful to the constituted powers." Governors of all the States proffered military assistance to the national authorities.

After the defeat the Federal army vigorously pursued the fleeing rebels, and during the first week of August there were numerous skirmishes at different points along a straggling line extending from Sao Paulo to about 300 miles west of that city. Meanwhile arrests of alleged revolutionaries in Sao Paulo have been frequent; on Aug. 6 Dr. José Carlos de Macedo Soares, wealthy merchant and foremost citizen of Sao Paulo, was apprehended; on Aug. 7 the Government took into custody Senhorita Anesia Pinheiro Machado, brilliant aviatrix, who is charged with aiding the insurgents by serving as an air scout.

President Barnardes on Aug. 6 signed the moratorium law voted by Congress for the State of Sao Paulo, whereby all commercial bills and others were ex-

tended forty-five days from the respective dates on which they were due.

A dispatch received by the State Department in Washington on Aug. 11 stated that banks at Sao Paulo had resumed operations since the revolutionists' withdrawal, but that conditions remained unsettled. Railroad communication between Sao Paulo and the interior was described as "irregular and disrupted."

Chile

THE organization by President Alessandri on July 20 of a new Radical Cabinet was the dominant event of the month. This Ministry took the place of the one which resigned shortly before the last general elections of March, but which had remained in office because political difficulties hindered the selection of the new Government. The members of the Alessandri Cabinet are:

Señor Aguirre—Prime Minister and Minister of the Interior.

Señor Briones—Foreign Affairs, Worship and Colonization.

Señor Salas—Education and Justice.

Señor Zanartu—Finance.

Señor Mora—War and Navy.

Señor Banados—Public Works and Railways.

Business conditions were not seriously affected by the change of Government. This is particularly significant as the nation is in the throes of a pacific political struggle of peculiar intensity. The conflict which is being waged between the conservative parties which had held the Government since the establishment of the republic, and the advanced liberal parties—the bulk of which is constituted by the Radical and Democratic (labor) Parties—will reach a climax when the Presidential elections are held next year.

On June 27 the Council of State presented for the consideration of Congress the budget for 1925. The expenditures for next year are somewhat lower than those authorized for 1924 and the estimated receipts for the coming year show an excess over expenditures of some 5,000,000 pesos.

Living costs in Chile continued to increase because of the new taxes and the fall in the exchange value of the peso. From over 30 cents in 1918, the peso has fallen to slightly over 10. A publication of the Government Bureau of Statistics gave the following index numbers of the cost of living in the republic:

1913.....100	1919.....143
1914.....108	1920.....168
1915.....120	1921.....169
1916.....117	1922.....173
1917.....118	1923.....176
1918.....121	1924.....*179

*First three months.

These figures show that Chile did not, like most countries, experience a drop in the cost of living during 1920-1922. Living costs were further increased by the imposition of new taxes amounting to about 100,000,000 pesos (approximately \$2.50 per capita); this tax went into operation on Jan. 1, 1924. Estimated receipts of the new income tax were 68,000,000 pesos; a revised estimate, however, reduced the proceeds of this to less than 50,000,000. Wages have not risen in proportion to increases in the cost of living. A recent Government investigation showed that over 80 per cent. of the wage earners in Chile received less than 5,000 pesos (approximately \$500) per annum. As such a large proportion of the population is agricultural, however, much of the family income does not appear in monetary form. The financial problems of the country have been the subject of a series of conferences held during "Finance Week" in the middle of July. Both in Santiago and in Valparaiso bankers and business men met to discuss the stabilizing of the Chilean peso at home and abroad.

Diplomatic representatives of Great Britain in Chile announced plans for the visit of a British squadron to Chilean waters. The British squadron consists of four light cruisers, which arrived at Coquimbo Aug. 4. The steamer Italia, fitted out by the Italian Government as

a floating commercial exposition, spent the first week of July in Valparaiso harbor. Large groups of visitors were on board each day. Press reports stated that orders for some \$500,000 of Italian products were taken at Valparaiso, although it was not the original intention of the exposition to do anything except display Italian products.

The Minister of Foreign Relations has recommended to Congress the names of Señor Armando Quezada Acharán and Señor Enrique Villegas, at present Ministers to the Governments of France and Italy, respectively, as the new representatives of Chile on the League of Nations.

Bolivia

BOLIVIA was stirred during the month under review by reports that an extensive campaign against France and Belgium had been launched by the German colony at La Paz; it was alleged that the German legation assisted in the spread of the propaganda. According to the reports, the propagandists distributed pamphlets in which grave charges were made against the Army of Occupation in the Ruhr.

Frederick Scott, Director General of the Bolivian Posts, was attacked at La Paz, on May 7 by a man who had been his secretary; Mr. Scott was seriously injured. The Director General, who is a British subject, was appointed to office last September.

Ecuador

THE steadily improving economic conditions in Ecuador have been paralleled by definite efforts toward expansion of the republic's diplomatic connections throughout the world. The most important recent move in this direction was the establishment of a legation in Switzerland: this action was announced by the Government on Aug. 8, and Señor Robalino Davila was appointed as the first Ecuadorian Minister to the Alpine Republic.

The British Empire

By RALSTON HAYDEN,

Associate Professor of Political Science, University of Michigan

Great Britain

THIS has been an American Summer in Great Britain. The Dawes plan for putting the economic, and consequently the political, structure of the world on a firm basis has been the subject of the great and crucial Interallied Conference which convened in London on July 16, and the action of the American "observers" and experts who have participated in the conference has frequently been the centre of world attention. Members of the American Bar Association who journeyed to England to meet with their professional brethren exhausted the London supply of silk hats and were entertained with a round of brilliant and imposing festivities. The fact that their President, Charles E. Hughes, American Secretary of State, participated in their activities and at the same time conferred unofficially with members of the British Government emphasized the importance of their visit.

Americans also played a prominent part in the International Advertising Convention, which began at Wembley on July 14. The three American Army planes on their round-the-world flight reached England on July 16 and their pilots and mechanics were enthusiastically received and entertained. During the month the historic bonds which unite the British and American peoples were recalled by the gift of a gavel made from one of the beams of Independence Hall in Philadelphia to the London Guildhall Museum, and by the placing of a bronze tablet in York Cathedral by representatives of the City of New York. On July 31, also, a monument commemorating the departure of the Pilgrim Fathers of Lincolnshire and Yorkshire from Immingham Creek in 1606 was unveiled in Immingham. And

finally Lady Astor, born in Virginia, was again a subject of discussion because a painting commemorating her introduction into the House as its first woman member was hung within the precincts of the House of Commons without a vote of the House.

In the field of politics the month has been dominated by the Interallied Conference. Other parliamentary events of interest, however, were the defeat of the MacDonald Government on July 18 during the discussion of the Unemployment bill (an event which did not affect the status of the Cabinet); the passage through the House of Commons of the Government's Housing and Agricultural Wage bills, the latter of which empowers district committees of farmers and workers to fix laborers' remuneration locally in rural areas, and the announcement in the House by C. P. Trevelyan, Minister of Education, that the Government was inaugurating a scheme which in ten years would double the proportion of the British population receiving secondary education, the present proportion being 10 per 1,000.

The rejection by Mr. MacDonald of the Treaty of Mutual Assistance drafted by the League of Nations, and a statement made in the Commons on July 31 by the Parliamentary Secretary of the Admiralty indicated that an important feature of the MacDonald Government's foreign policy would be the calling of another disarmament conference as soon as a favorable opportunity presented itself. It was also intimated that if no response was made to the abandonment of the construction of a naval base at Singapore, then the Government very reluctantly would have to go on with this project.

Admiral Sir Charles Madden, Commander-in-Chief of the Atlantic Fleet from 1919 to 1922, has been appointed

an Admiral of the Fleet, the highest rank in the British Navy.

Ras Tafari Makonnen, heir apparent and Prince Regent of Abyssinia, paid an official visit to England, emphasizing the relations of friendship which exist between his country and that of King George.

The review of the Grand Fleet by King George on July 26 was the first event of the sort since the historic review off Spithead just before the war. In 1914 there were 55 battleships in line as compared with 10 in the present fleet; there were 4 battle cruisers as compared with 1 today; 55 cruisers as compared with 9. On the other hand the destroyers have increased from 56 to 88, and airplane carriers and minesweepers have made their appearance.

A far-reaching Government inquiry into British industry and commerce with special reference to export trade was begun on July 30 by a committee of nineteen experts representing all branches of trade. The investigation is expected to last for two years, but reports will be presented as the work progresses.

Ireland

SETTLEMENT of the Ulster-Free State dispute continued during the month to be the outstanding Irish problem. Numerous conferences were held during July, looking to the completion of the commission of three to determine the boundary line between the Free State and Ulster; these conclaves were rendered futile by the repeated refusal of Ulster to name a Commissioner. Premier MacDonald finally decided upon a

program, and on Aug. 6 a bill was introduced in the House of Commons providing that, subject to confirmation of an agreement by the British Parliament and the Dail, the North Irish Government's power to appoint a Commissioner should be transferred to and exercised by the British Government, and any Commissioner so appointed should be deemed to be a Commissioner appointed by the Northern Irish Government. It was further announced that Parliament would reassemble on Sept. 30 to vote upon the measure; the postponement of action on the bill also gave Ulster a final chance to name its boundary representative.

Eamon de Valera and Austin Stack, leaders of the Republican opposition to the Irish Free State, were released from prison on July 16. The former had been confined for a little less than a year and the latter since April, 1923. De Valera was enthusiastically received



Wide World

British and Irish statesmen who attempted to settle the Irish question (from left to right): President Cosgrave of the Free State, Prime Minister MacDonald and Sir James Craig, Premier of Northern Ireland

in Dublin, but the political effects of his release have not yet become apparent. The British Government has released two prominent Irish prisoners, Art O'Brien and Sean McGrath.

The return of normal conditions in Ireland is marked by a tourist revival. Visitors from America and the Continent are numerous and the isolation of the period of civil war seems to be ending. The Tailteann Games also have served to divert public attention from political strife. The peaceful aspect of Dublin, however, was somewhat altered by a strike of municipal employees which was called July 26 in protest against a proposed reduction of 6 shillings (\$1.50) in their weekly wages. Most of the public services of the city were affected by the strike, to the inconvenience of the Dublin public and of tourists.

The Free State was invited to take part in the Interallied Conference through indirect representation on the British delegation, but refused on the ground that the Free State Government could not feel itself bound by any decision which the conference might reach.

Canada

THE session of the Canadian Parliament which began last February was brought to an end on July 19. Legislation passed during the closing days of the session included the Church Union bill, uniting the Presbyterian, Methodist and Congregational Churches of Canada, but containing the proviso that any congregation wishing to do so might remain out of the United Church. A redistribution bill increasing the membership of the House from 235 to 245, was also passed. The measure enlarged the representation of the Western Provinces at the expense of certain districts in the East.

The wheat harvest has begun in the Prairie Provinces and is a bountiful one. Thirty-seven thousand hands are required to get in the crop, and of these some 20,000 must be imported from Eastern Canada. During the nine

months ending in June Canada exported 20,428,000 bushels of wheat to the United States in comparison with 13,167,301 bushels during the corresponding nine months two years ago. The Western farmers have profited greatly from the marked increase in the price of wheat, it having been estimated that the Saskatchewan 1924 crop has gained to the extent of \$50,000,000 as the result of the 42-cent rise during the past month.

The prohibition question continues to hold a prominent place in Canadian politics. On July 16 Saskatchewan voted against a "bone dry" policy. In a very close election in British Columbia the sale of beer by the glass was favored by a majority of 53. The temperance party has demanded a recount of the votes. The Government of Ontario has announced that a plebiscite on the liquor question will be held on Oct. 21. [An article describing the results of the Quebec liquor plan is printed on page 988.]

An amendment to the act for the better protection of immigrant children was passed during the recent session of the Ontario Legislature, broadening the application of the act to include any child brought into the Province for settlement instead of, as formerly, only orphan, dependent or neglected child immigrants. The act is intended to guarantee fair and humane treatment for child immigrants.

The Canadian Government steamer Arctic left Quebec on July 5 on a voyage of exploration and scientific research to the Far North. After resisting for years the efforts of climbers of Canada and the United States to reach its summit, Mount Geikie, the highest peak in the Rampart Range, Jasper National Park, Alberta, was finally conquered by two Canadians and an American on July 14.

British Columbia on July 7 sold \$3,000,000 worth of 5 per cent. bonds for refunding purposes and to pay for new buildings for the University of British Columbia at Point Grey, near Vancouver. The loan is for fifteen

years. A short time before the issue of these bonds the Government of the Province floated another loan of \$3,000,000 at the rate of 4.60 per cent. The term of these bonds is three years and the interest rate the lowest paid by a Canadian Province during the past ten years.

Minimum wage schedules for female employes in the rubber and tobacco industries of Ontario have been announced by the Minimum Wage Board of the Province. In the city of Toronto the wage for an experienced woman employe over 18 years of age shall not be less than \$12.50 per week, while inexperienced adults and girls under 18 may be paid somewhat less. The minimum rate is graded down to the lower cost of living in cities and towns smaller than Toronto.

South Africa

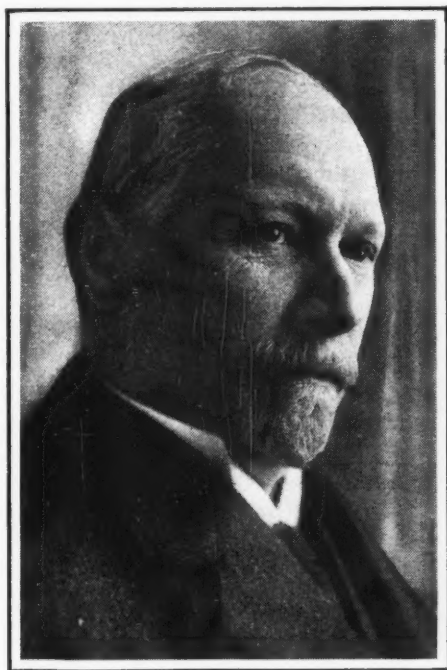
FOLLOWING the meeting of the new South African Parliament the Nationalist-Labor Government is setting



Keystone

GENERAL J. B. M. HERTZOG

The new Prime Minister of the Union of South Africa



GENERAL J. C. SMUTS

Who has ceased to be Prime Minister of South Africa as a result of the recent elections

forth its policy and sounding out the country upon various features of its program. It is realized that Labor holds the balance of power, as the transference of its eighteen votes to the Opposition headed by General Smuts would mean the downfall of the Hertzog Cabinet. In the speech of the Governor-General at the opening session on July 25 it was announced that legislation would be introduced dealing with the German nationals in Southwest Africa; that immediate steps would be taken toward the employment of more white labor on the railways; that increased financial provision would be made for the relief of the unemployed, and that a Department of Labor would be inaugurated.

The crops of the Union have suffered severely from a prolonged drought and the attacks of locusts. The Government

is sending a mission to Southwest Africa and the Bechuanaland Protectorate in order to devise plans by which the locusts can be destroyed at their breeding places.

The report of a Government committee of experts upon the industries and natural resources of the Union regards the decline of immigration and the slow growth of the white population of South Africa as being unfortunate for the development of the country, but declares that within the last few years notable progress has been made in the primary industries of the land, agriculture and mining.

India

THE Ahmedabad meeting of the Executive Committee of the All-India Congress ended with the decisive defeat of Gandhi and his followers and the victory of C. R. Das and the Swaraj (home rule) Party of violence. It is too early to estimate the ultimate course and future influence of the great Mahatma who had all native India at his feet a short two years ago, but for the present the party of non-violence is in eclipse.

The racial and religious hatred which divides the Indian people appeared on the surface at Delhi on July 15 when Mohamman-Hindu riots caused the death of a number of persons, the injury of many more and necessitated military control of the city. Although British troops promptly suppressed the actual fighting between the two groups, the capital remained in a high state of tension and further outbreaks were feared.

The Indian Government has decided to undertake the printing of postage stamps and currency notes instead of importing them as it hitherto has done. The experiment will be an interesting one, as it has always been declared that such work could not be satisfactorily done under the climatic conditions prevailing in India.

The women students of the Benares Hindu University are protesting against

the proposal to provide a separate faculty for their instruction. They fear that their teachers would not be of as high quality as those assigned to the male students and demand that they be allowed to study in the same classes as the men. The situation has arisen on account of the opening of a new dormitory to accommodate 100 women students of the university.

Conditions on the Northwest frontier remain unsettled. On July 28 four British soldiers were killed and two others injured in bombing operations against the Waziri tribesmen.

In Bengal 357 school inspectors have been dismissed as the result of the refusal of the Swaraj Party in the Bengal Legislative Council to permit the appropriation of money for their salaries. This action has left the 53,000 schools of the province with twenty-nine inspectors. The policy was justified by C. R. Das, who was primarily responsible for it, upon the ground that education was being sacrificed to inspection and that the inspectors were merely spies of the bureaucracy. The Governor cannot restore the item of the inspectors' salaries to the appropriation bill, as education is a "transferred" subject in charge of an Indian Minister responsible to the Indian Legislative Council. Lord Lytton has declared that, "as matters stand at present, all hope of educational efficiency must be abandoned," a conclusion which the universal recognition of constant and expert inspection in schools of this type would seem to justify.

Australia

LABOR continues to gain ground throughout the Commonwealth, the latest significant advance being the formation of a Labor Ministry in the State of Victoria. As a result of the recent elections, Labor largely increased its representation in the Legislative Assembly, though not to the extent of being in a majority over all other parties. On July 17 the Government headed by Premier Sir Alexander Pea-

cock was defeated on a vote of confidence, and on his resignation the leader of the Labor Party, G. M. Prendergast, formed a Government.

The composite Ministry which at present carries on the Government of the Australian Commonwealth received a new lease of life on July 24 when an agreement to continue the coalition and fight the next elections together was reached by the Nationalist and Country Parties.

A bill providing for compulsory voting at Federal elections passed its third reading in the House of Representatives on July 25. The Government bill authorizing the construction of two 10,000-ton cruisers was also passed. A Labor amendment providing that both vessels should be built in Australia was rejected, it being estimated that their construction in England would involve a saving of £50,000 per vessel.

Dr. J. H. L. Cumpston, Director General of Health and Director of Quarantine, has left Australia on an official

visit to the United States at the invitation of the Rockefeller Foundation, for the purpose of studying the treatment of cancer, tuberculosis and diabetes.

The minimum wage rate for all classes of industry in Adelaide, capital of the State of South Australia, has been increased seven pence (about 14 cents), and now stands at 13s. 8d. (about \$3.28) per day of eight hours. The increase was based upon estimates of the increased cost of living and raises the minimum wage to the highest point ever reached in South Australia.

The effective occupation of the immense and largely unsettled continent of Australia is regarded as the greatest national problem of the Commonwealth today. Among a number of projects which are hoped to contribute to this end are the recent exploratory flight around Australia, the Central Australian exploring expedition begun by Stefansson, of Arctic fame, and the plan to create a new State out of territory which is now a part of New South Wales.

France and Belgium

By WILLIAM STEARNS DAVIS

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France

DURING the last month the chief interest of France centred not in Paris but in London, where Premier Herriot was wrestling with the seemingly eternal problem of the German reparations. According to every French account the Premier and his associates went to the extreme limit of what was permissible in reducing their demands upon Germany under the Dawes plan, and any further concessions would have produced an explosion in the Chamber involving the prompt downfall of the new Liberal

Ministry and the return of Nationalist elements to power, if not the actual reinstatement of M. Poincaré with his policy of "thorough." On the other hand, however, had the London Conference broken up unsuccessfully the Herriot Cabinet would have gone to an equally early doom. As things stood early in August, even the opponents of the Ministry were inclined to bestow high praise upon the Premier, and, commenting on Mr. MacDonald's statement that "only Satan himself can now separate the Allies," the *Paris Temps* on Aug. 2 apparently spoke for almost the entire French press when it glee-

fully declared: "Even the German delegates will scarcely now, in the face of this hard-reached agreement, aspire to play the part of Lucifer."

The Chamber of Deputies was in session up to July 15, when it adjourned for two weeks. The last act before the adjournment was to pass the Amnesty bill for war offenders, a measure vigorously demanded by the Radical and Socialist groups. The last articles of the bill were put through by only twenty Deputies, who worked all night under the authorization of proxies given them by their colleagues who had gone home to bed. This exercise of a French parliamentary usage enabled the passage of the bill just before dawn on July 15.

The Liberal Cabinet continued to enact measures unwelcome to its predecessor or directly the reverse of M. Poincaré's policy. The Chamber on July 30, by a vote of 338 to 204, re-established the Government monopoly of matches abolished by the Poincaré régime. It was announced that "as a measure of economy" the usual Autumn military manoeuvres would not be held on a general scale this year. This decision was commended by the pacifist elements, but was denounced by the Nationalists and the Conservatives as weakening the defenses of the republic. The Government, also following its policy of reducing armaments as much as possible, declared that it would not call out the reservists of the class of 1920 until 1925. The decrease of tension between France and Germany was indicated by the announcement that for the first time in ten years French ports were to be thrown open freely to German shipping. The French League of Nations Association issued a formal invitation to the Germans to attend the International Congress of the League of Nations Association.

It would be wrong, however, to infer that the French people had ceased to feel intensely upon the twin subjects of reparations and security. At the height of the London Conference the French Ministers there present found it

needful to send the following formal communication, which was read to the Chamber on July 29: "The French delegation, while seeking to give legitimate securities to lenders [to Germany] is taking care that there shall be no infringement of either the Treaty of Versailles or of the rights of France in event of the non-application of collective action." That this statement was not pronounced enough to please the majority of the Chamber was said to have been evidenced by the fact that only a few Socialists applauded the reading, and that it was received with apparent coldness not only by the Opposition but by the Moderate Left, M. Herriot's main support for a majority.

Concerning security, the French authorities continued their investigations of the charges that Germany is rearming again somewhat as Prussia did before 1813. *Le Matin*, one of the most influential of the Parisian papers, asserted that the present German army was not 100,000 as provided by the treaty, but actually 250,000, the Security Police organized in 1921 being "for all intents and purposes a regular army." It is also contended that great care is being taken in Germany to keep up the old military formations by means of regimental associations of ex-soldiers, that all German youths are now being given what amounts to a military training in athletic or sporting organizations, that technical preparations on a large scale are being pushed, and that "materially as well as morally Germany is ready for mobilization, or rather for a 'national insurrection' systematically prepared by military leaders with the uttermost care and energy."

Secretary of State Hughes arrived in the French capital from London on July 28 and, owing to tension over the Reparation Conference, speculation was rife as to the possible outcome of the visit of the American statesman. Mr. Hughes was discreetly silent, however, contenting himself with saying in an interview that "the alternative to failure of the London conference is so terrible and so dangerous that the allied Premiers must

come to an agreement. They cannot afford a failure." In a brief address at a reception at the Hotel de Ville, greeting a great company of French lawyers, Mr. Hughes dwelt on the common benificent purpose of the French and American legal systems, and made an earnest plea for a spirit of justice and peace in international no less than internal affairs. He added: "We know of no cure for these conditions [following the World War] save as we may find it in the disposition of peoples intent on the interests of peace." In another newspaper interview Mr. Hughes stated that "the Dawes plan has been approved by all the Governments, including the German, as the most practicable, just and reasonable solution of the reparations problem; it must be applied practically, in a spirit of justice and with rational methods, if we intend to emerge from the difficulties of the last five years." Mr. Hughes while in Paris conferred with President Doumergue, M. Millerand, M. Poincaré and many other French leaders, and after his departure for Brussels on July 31 the press of Paris expressed confidence that the American Secretary of State had learned thoroughly the French viewpoint, and fully appreciated why the nation insisted rigorously both upon a complete disarmament of Germany and upon the payment of full and ungrudged reparations.

Domestic events of significance have been few of late in the republic. The usual friction between extreme Radicals and Conservatives continued unabating; on July 22, at the funeral of M. Sebastian Velly, Communist Mayor of Douarnenez in Brittany, his fellow-Communists started to march with a red flag behind the hearse. The priests invited by the family to officiate refused to permit this demonstration, and an unseemly wrangle followed. At length by compromise the Communists were permitted to march with their red banner at the end of the cortège. The proposal of the Cabinet to direct the transfer of the ashes of the famous Socialist, Jean Jaurés (assassinated in 1914), to the Pantheon was

received by the Conservative press as nothing less than an insult to the famous dead now reposing in that building. However, on July 31, the measure passed in the Chamber by 346 votes to 110, and the Senate ratified the proposal with only five adverse votes. Official ceremonies, it was announced, would mark the exhumation and reburial of Jaurés.

Since the fairly complete stabilization of the franc—its value was \$0.0538 New York exchange on Aug. 4—the economic condition of the republic has appeared to be relatively satisfactory. The favorable position of the French External 8 per cent. bonds (104 $\frac{1}{4}$ on Aug. 4) as compared with earlier quotations testified to the increasing confidence of the business world in the future of France.

In the first three months of 1924 there were 24,039 more deaths than births registered throughout the nation. It is evident enough that the losses caused by the war are not being made good. The population of France went down from 41,476,271 in 1913 to 39,209,518 in 1921, making it apparent that it would take some twenty years, even with an excess of births of 100,000 per annum, to compensate for the numbers lost in the war. This probably is too optimistic an estimate, for, as M. Poincaré pointed out in a recent speech, the birth rate decreased by more than one-half during the war, and the number of young men and women who will attain the age of 20 between 1935 and 1940 will diminish suddenly in proportion. To meet the situation, pronounced effort has been made to stimulate the increase of large families; at Mulhouse, for example, there is established an employers' fund which grants work-people sums rising from 31 francs per month for the first child up to 97.50 francs for the tenth, so that a family of ten children would actually receive assistance amounting to 4,375 francs per year. There are many similar funds, public and private. However, it is becoming apparent that a large part of the evil is traceable to the excessively high death rate. In 1923 there were

actually 3,500 more births in France than in England and Wales, but there were also 222,100 more deaths than in the neighboring land across the Channel. It is charged that defective hygienic conditions among the French agricultural classes, the practice of putting infants out to nurse, and ineffective measures against tuberculosis account in large measure for this great national problem. Already France is confronted with an immigration question which is likely to be intensified by the new restriction of immigrants to the United States. There are today over 2,000,000 foreigners of some thirty-two nationalities upon French soil, with Italians, Spaniards, Belgians, Poles and Rumanians forming the largest element. These people are not welcomed as competitors for French skilled labor, and France tolerates them only for their services in the farming districts. Already there are proposals in the National Chamber for "protection against cheap foreign labor," and M. Petitjean, Deputy from the Seine, has introduced a bill levying a tax alike upon foreign workmen and upon those French employers who hire the same when French workmen are available.

Belgium

INTEREST in Belgium during the month under review centred upon the Antwerp ship channel developments; the channel, which had been blocked for large vessels, and concerning the restoration of which nautical wiseacres spoke dubiously, has been dredged successfully, so that on Aug. 7 the great Red Star liners *Belgenland* and *Lapland* were enabled to resume their direct voyages to Antwerp from New York.

Before the London Conference on July 7 M. Hymans, Belgian Foreign Minister, addressing the meeting of the Foreign Press Association at Brussels, warmly commended the Dawes program and expressed extreme confidence that all difficulties would be smoothed over. He stated, however, that two great subjects could not be touched at the conference—those of the interallied debts

and of security against German attack upon France and Belgium. Until these were settled, he added, the world could not be on a firm basis. "The era of disquiet is not over. The Nationalist passions rumble in Germany. So let us stand guard, but at the same time let us never despair either of law or of humanity."

Charles Evans Hughes, the American Secretary of State, arrived at Brussels from Paris on July 31, and was greeted at the station by a distinguished company and by enthusiastic crowds. On Aug. 1 Mr. Hughes was the guest of honor of both the University of Brussels and then of the University of Louvain, the degree of Doctor of Laws being bestowed upon him at each institution. The Louvain degree was conferred at Malines by Cardinal Mercier, who, speaking in the name of the university, presented the diploma to Mr. Hughes as to one "whose conscience as a jurist and experience as a diplomat are so justly renowned." The same evening Mr. Hughes dined with King Albert and Queen Elizabeth, with whom he again conferred before leaving for Berlin next day.

On July 3 a treaty of commerce between Belgium (with Luxemburg) and Canada was signed at Ottawa. The treatment to be awarded Belgian manufacturers is on the whole very favorable. Last year Canada absorbed about 50,000,000 francs' worth of Belgian products, and it expected that this total will now be considerably increased.

The little districts of Eupen, Malmédy and St. Vith, which were ceded by Germany in 1919, have been at length so completely Belgicized that a law has been proposed by M. Pouillet, Minister of the Interior, for their permanent absorption into the kingdom. The German language is to be permitted in court procedure along with the French in most of the communes, and in two police courts (Eupen and St. Vith) all the proceedings are to be entirely in German unless the accused party specifically demands that French be spoken.

Germany and Austria

By WILLIAM R. SHEPHERD,

Professor of History, Columbia University

Germany

WHILE some improvement may be noted in Germany's economic condition, the general situation is as yet far from satisfactory. The surplus of 3,000,000 gold marks for the first ten days in June was more than counterbalanced by the rather gloomy statement issued by the Ministry of Commerce, which indicated a marked increase in the number of bankruptcies, especially of unlimited partnerships. During the month of June the number of such failures was three times the number for May.

The labor market also showed a constant decline. The Berlin Labor Office, for instance, reported that 6,000 more unemployed were entered on the list for the week ending July 19 than for the previous week. The total number of unemployed registered in Berlin at the beginning of the third week in July was nearly 93,000. Comparative tables printed in the Berlin *Vorwärts* on July 10 indicated that the municipal unskilled workers, as well as many of the more highly skilled employees, were actually receiving a wage averaging about 30 per cent. less than in pre-war days. In 1914 an unskilled full-time worker in any of Berlin's departments drew from 28 to 34 marks a week according to his length of service, with slight allowances for his family in some of the city's subdivisions. At present, with similar allowances, he receives only 23.50 marks, from which is deducted about 3.50 marks for taxes, insurance and so forth, as against deductions of 1.18 in 1914. Skilled workers now receive an average of 31 marks as compared with 37 marks before the war. The personnel of the departments has also been cut. In 1914 the Berlin street cleaners numbered 1,580 full-

time men and 577 helpers; now the total is only 1,444. Similar reductions in personnel are found in other departments.

Representatives of organized labor in Germany have expressed the fear that employers evidently intend to use the Dawes plan as a screen for the complete abolition of the legal eight-hour working day. That the eight-hour day is already being exceeded to a great extent under agreements involving trade union and Government consent is shown in a report issued by the German General Federation of Trade Unions on an inquiry covering 2,453,523 persons in seven leading trades employed by 46,122 concerns. Of every 100 building trades workers 11 were working more than 48 hours a week; of 100 printing trades workers, 49.4; chemical workers, 44; woodworkers, 21.1; metal workers, 63.5; shoemakers, 14.5; textile workers, 82.4. The report estimates that half the workers of Germany are toiling more than 48 hours a week. The fears of the German labor leaders have been somewhat allayed by statements made by Albert Thomas and Hjalmar Branting to the effect that the International Labor Office of the League of Nations would exercise all pressure possible to prevent the abolition of the eight-hour day under any pretext. Mr. Branting said:

It is to be hoped that the declarations of the German Government in this important matter will not create any serious difficulties. A lengthening of the working day in Germany carries a germ of grave social conflicts for the workers of all Europe, because the industrialists of other countries, pointing to German competition, will also demand extra work from their employees. Thus the maintenance of the eight-hour day, which represents the most valuable result of the overturn of 1918 for the social progress of the workers, would be seriously menaced. Extra work in Germany cannot be justified on the ground of reparation production, as the States interested in reparations have expressly stated in their resolutions that reparation deliveries are not to result in injuring the justified social demands of the German workers.

The German Socialists are endeavoring to induce the Marx-Stresemann Government to take a definite stand against the German employers' drive for unlimited exploitation of their workers under the plea of patriotic necessity.

Two measures of importance have been taken by the Government in its efforts to help the German farmers. The first is a decree of the Ministry of Agriculture removing the embargo on German grain, flour and other products. The farmers, the Government points out, are unable to dispose of their products at home and must therefore find markets elsewhere. In opposing the measure Vorwärts asserted that the price of home-grown grain would be raised, thus entailing great hardship to the German workers. The Government promises to curb the export of the released products if it "assumes alarming proportions." The second measure, opposed by the Social Democrats, is a proposed tariff on food products, including live cattle, hogs and sheep, meat, rye, wheat, barley, oats and potatoes. American packers are giving the measure close attention.

The German Government scored a clean-cut victory on its foreign policy when on July 26 the Reichstag expressed confidence by a vote of 172 to 62. The vote was taken immediately after a long speech by the Nationalist Professor Hoetsch, who roundly denounced the Government. The Nationalist Party, he said, would accept the Dawes plan only on condition of amnesty for all Germans imprisoned by the French in the Ruhr, security for Germany against sanctions and the complete economic and military evacuation of the Ruhr. He also demanded renewed enforcement of the Rhineland agreement and declared that France, despite her change of Premiers, held fast to the old Poincaré policy regarding the inviolability of the Versailles Treaty and the necessity of imposing a policy of penalties on Germany. The fact that sixty-nine Nationalists refused to vote was regarded by many as strong corroboration of the persistent

reports of discord in the Nationalist ranks.

A new organization, the Reichsbanner, has been founded for the purpose of combating the Monarchists. Under the leadership of General von Schoenaich the membership already numbers over a million. On Aug. 10, the fifth anniversary of adoption of the German Constitution, demonstrations were held in all parts of the country. The Nationalists, though not as active as during the election campaign, continue their policy of criticism and agitation. The principal military leaders of the great war made the tenth anniversary of the beginning of that conflict the occasion for appealing to the military spirit of the nation. Von Hindenburg, Ludendorff, von Kluck, Mackensen and the former Crown Prince all issued formal statements extolling the spirit of the old empire. Ernest Toller, Germany's radical dramatist and author of "Masse Mensch," who has just been released after five years in prison, recently appeared before a Reichstag committee, where he condemned the methods of the Bavarian court which sentenced him, and of Bavarian prison authorities. Among other things he contrasted his sentence and treatment with that accorded Adolph Hitler.

A special Reichstag court handling election cases has declared invalid the Reichstag election of May 4 in so far as the Ninth Electoral District in Oppeln, Upper Silesia, is concerned. As a result the three Centrists, two Communists and one German Nationalist seated from that district lose their places in the Reichstag. It appears that one of the "nuisance parties," so numerous and unimportant in Germany, was excluded from the ballot contrary to the election law.

Several German newspapers, plays and cinema films have been prohibited in the occupied territory by the Rhineland High Commission. The banned plays include a popular folk play, "Schneider Wibbel," the scene of which is laid in Rhineland during the Napoleonic era.

The economic arrangement under which the German industrialists in the Ruhr have been delivering some material on reparation account and paying license and export fees has been extended to include dye, brick, textiles, paper and other industries. This extension is to remain in operation until the Dawes plan goes into effect.

Announcement has been recently made that Dr. Theodor Rosenbaum, a Berlin physician, after twenty years of experimenting has invented a gyrorector, an apparatus whereby aircraft pilots can steer by magnetic compass. In the course of a couple of months passengers on German railroad trains will be able to telephone to any telephone number in Germany as well as be reached by telephone from any point in Germany by means of a wireless outfit now being installed on all railroads.

According to recent statistics, divorce is steadily on the increase throughout Germany. The number of legal separations being granted at present is virtually double the number ten years ago. Infidelity is the cause given for 53 per cent. of the divorces last year, the men being to blame in the greater number of cases.

Austria

ONE of the most significant events in the recent history of Austria was the formal opening on July 20 of Vienna's new hydroelectric station which will provide the city with 80 per cent. of its electricity. Since the peace treaty was signed Austria, which has been forced to import practically all its coal from abroad, has made strenuous efforts to replace fuel by water power. Practically every waterway in every part of Austria has been harnessed for the production of electricity. A considerable part of the railroad through the Tyrol mountains has already been electrified. It is believed that development of water power stations throughout Austria will be an item of greatest importance in the future trade of the country.

As a result of his fanatical attacks on Catholicism and of his effort to stir up class hatred, General Ludendorff has been debarred from Austria by the Government. Ludendorff had planned a demonstration at Salzburg, but his utterances against the Catholics not only turned all Bavaria against him, but so antagonized Austria, where the Chancellor, Herr Seipel, is a Catholic priest, that the famous German leader was advised that his presence at Salzburg was not wanted.

The anti-Semitic feeling which has long prevailed in Austria still continues. A bitter complaint against the anti-Semitism ruling the universities and colleges of Austria was voiced on July 16 by Mayor Seitz of Vienna in a speech delivered in the Austrian Parliament. He attacked the influence of the Hakenkreuzler and stated that many of the best minds and greatest scholars are being barred from institutions of learning in Austria merely because they are Jews. He cited the names of the physicist Horovita, the social hygienist Peller, and the chemist Feigl.

Efforts to promote international cooperation in medicine and surgery were furthered as a result of a conference of heart specialists held in Vienna. The conference was called by Professor Wenckebach, who delivered a course of lectures in the United States last year on relief of angina pectoris by surgery. Among those who attended were the two American surgeons, Dr. Walter B. Coffey and Dr. Brown of the Southern Pacific Hospital, San Francisco, who have made valuable scientific contributions to the physiology of the heart's action. Another conference will be held within a year.

A report published by the Board of Health of Vienna indicates that during the last forty years 948 persons died of poisoning. An analysis of the report shows that accidental poisoning, especially in industrial and commercial life, is increasing while criminal poisoning is decreasing. The cocaine habit, imported into Austria lately, is giving the authorities considerable trouble.

Italy

By LILY ROSS TAYLOR

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THE preliminary investigations for the trial of Matteotti's murderers, which will not take place until the court opens in November, are proceeding. At the same time the assaults upon Senator Bergamini and Deputy Amendola, as well as various other Fascista outrages, are receiving investigation to determine whether the group of men who killed Matteotti was also responsible for them. In general the proceedings have gone forward under cover of strict secrecy, and the exercise of the newly established control of the press has been threatened when newspaper comment became too active.

Recent developments arousing great excitement have come from Farinacci's sudden entry into the case in defense of Dumini, supposed leader of the gang of murderers. In a letter to the Prosecuting Attorney, Farinacci, "ras" of Cremona, and most intransigent of the local Fascista chiefs, declared that, since the trial was assuming the character of a general attack on Fascismo, he would undertake the defense of Dumini, which he had previously refused. In another letter to the Fascista paper *Impero*, Farinacci attempted to put the whole responsibility of the murder on Cesare Rossi, chief of the Fascista press bureau, who resigned because of his implication in the murder, and, after a week in hiding, gave himself up to the authorities. According to Farinacci, Rossi, an ex-anarchist who desired power for himself, had been plotting for some time with the enemies of Fascismo. A visit of Rossi to Paris in May is made the object of special suspicion by Farinacci. Rossi has denied Farinacci's charges. According to the Socialist daily *Sereno*, Rossi has also made a general accusation which implicates in the plot against Matteotti many of the chiefs of



Giacomo Matteotti (right), the Socialist member of the Italian Chamber of Deputies, who was assassinated by the Fascisti, talking to Deputy Grassi a few days before his death

Fascismo and even, it is asserted, Mussolini himself. The accusation is said to be made in a detailed statement prepared by Rossi during his week in hiding.

The decree giving the Government control over the press has been the chief subject of discussion in the Italian papers during the month. The decree, published in the *Official Gazette* on July 8, purported to be the same decree that was passed, but not put into effect, by the Cabinet a year ago; actually it differed in one important particular from the earlier decree. Instead of censoring the news by causing the papers to appear with blank spaces where forbidden items had been printed, as was customary during the war, it provides for the complete se-

questration of newspapers containing news "of a false or partisan nature which may interfere with diplomatic action of the Government in foreign affairs, or may injure the national credit at home or abroad, or may arouse unjustified alarms among the people, or may in any other way disturb public order." The officials who determine whether news is of such a character are the local prefects, who are authorized to act through the police. A system of warnings to the director who is designated as responsible for the newspaper is also instituted, and two such warnings within a year will make it necessary for a new director to be chosen for the paper. A second decree, published on July 11, makes special provisions as to the machinery by which the control of the press is to be applied, and states that sequestration of papers can take place without the more severe official warning.

The attacks in the Opposition press, which regards the new decree as worse than the wartime censorship, call attention to the fact that Mussolini had but lately promised to end the custom of making laws by royal decrees. The constitutionality of the use of such decrees after the urgent need of war was over has been much questioned in recent years. In this particular case it is pointed out that an urgent decree that is a year old is in itself an anomaly. Moreover, by some method that is not clear, the anti-Fascista papers state, two articles, the one providing for the sequestration of newspapers and the one putting control into the hands of the local prefects, have been added to the original decree. The chief basis of attack has, of course, been the essential suppression of freedom and the firm entrenchment of dictatorship that the decree represents. All the newspapers except the genuine Fascista organs deplore the measure, and many newspapers which, like the *Giornale d'Italia*, organ of the Liberals, have supported Mussolini, heartily condemn his latest action.

The law so far has been applied in a number of cases, of which the following are perhaps typical: On July 14 the *Voce Repubblicana* of Rome was sequestered because of the publication of a violent letter written by the exiled Spanish scholar, Miguel de Unamuno, against the King and Government of Spain. On July 18 the *Popolo*, the Catholic daily, received a formal warning for publishing remarks that were, in the view of the Prefect of Rome, an attempt to minimize the work of the Italian delegation at the London Conference. On July 19 the Fascista paper *Impero* was sequestered for insisting on the restoration of the death penalty and for the publication of a list of people to whom it ought to be applied. On July 27 all the papers of Milan, except Mussolini's organ, the *Popolo d'Italia*, were sequestered for publishing some of Cesare Rossi's alleged revelations. When Mussolini heard of the circumstances he ordered the newspapers to be released, on the ground that there had been too wide an application of the decree. The Fascisti point out that the decree has been applied against Fascisti as well as against the Opposition. Certainly so far freedom of criticism in the Opposition, which continues its vigorous attacks on Mussolini, has not been seriously curtailed. The chief Opposition paper, the *Mondo*, has more than doubled its circulation, and the *Corriere della Sera*, a more temperate but none the less firm opponent, has increased its circulation by two-thirds. The popularity of these papers, said to be much more read than the chief Fascista organs, is one of the strongest indications that Mussolini's position in the country is profoundly shaken.

The most significant indication of Mussolini's position is the seeming defection of the Liberals, who have hitherto been counted among the majority that supports him. Their organ, the *Giornale d'Italia* of Rome, has been most active in deploring his recent trend. The dramatist Sem Benelli, who was elected to Parliament on the Fas-

cista lists, has published there a series of articles urging Liberals to united action as Italians and not as adherents of any particular party. But the Liberals—and their veteran leader, Giolitti—will hardly find themselves in accord with some elements in the Opposition. When, after a meeting of the Popular, or Catholic, Party about the middle of July, a close alliance between the Popular and the Unitarian Socialist Parties seemed imminent, the *Giornale d'Italia*, which had been vigorous in its attacks on the new press regulations, showed signs of wavering in its condemnation of Fascismo. In his speech to the Fascista Grand Council, on July 23, Mussolini said of the Liberals: "They have been so friendly and loyal toward us as to merit to be called honorary Fascisti, and they deserve to be treated with equal cordiality by us." As was true during the recent elections, they have threatened to desert Mussolini but so far have not actually done so. His greatest safeguard is still the lack of unanimity among the forces that oppose him.

The application of the control of the press was undoubtedly a sign that the more intransigent wing of the Fascisti had the upper hand, and the prominence of Farinacci as chief orator at recent large gatherings of Fascisti is a further sign to the same effect. Mussolini's own utterances toward the Opposition have been less conciliatory than they were in the early days after Matteotti's murder. An article published on July 12 in his paper, the *Popolo d'Italia*, in which Mussolini's style has been generally recognized, takes note of the way in which he has weathered the crisis: "Attacked by a national and world-wide campaign of terrible proportions, which makes one think that preparations were made in advance to secure the maximum advantage from any misfortune that overtook Fascismo, Mussolini has remained at his post in spite of the storm. The exaggerated demands of the Opposition, the variations in public opinion, the volte-face

of numerous people have not shaken him." The comments on the militia, chief object of his adversaries' attack, are especially significant:

Like the party, the militia, Mussolini's creation and his best beloved, has conducted itself splendidly. It was ready, and it is ready now. If some excitement has run through the ranks, it is due to high-spirited impatience and to the fear—altogether ungrounded—of seeing the special character of the militia destroyed. The militia is what it is. It cannot so far lose its nature as to turn into a ridiculous second to the army or a grotesque royal guard.

None of the things which the Opposition asked for have been granted, and nothing will be. The changes in the Cabinet were already in progress, and so was the "constitutionalizing" of the militia.

Mussolini's subsequent statements show, as does this article, that the projected reorganization of the militia is not of a very fundamental nature. After the meeting of the Council of Ministers on Aug. 1 it was announced that the relation of officers of the militia to regular army officers and the functions of the militia in peace and war had been more clearly defined. In war the militia will, in general, be merged with the regular army. In peace it has acquired the direction of the pre-military training of Italian boys. The membership, which, according to Mussolini's previous statement, was to be open to every one, is actually limited to those who possess "certain physical, moral and political qualifications" not further defined. The date when the militia is to take the oath of allegiance to the King provided for in this same announcement has not yet been set. Evidently the oath will not change the character of the militia as an organization of Fascisti, whose purpose is to serve the party.

At the meeting of the Grand Council of the Fascisti on July 22 Mussolini advocated the following reforms of the party:

1. Nomination through free elections by the Fascista rank and file of a new directorate of the Fascist Party.
2. Strict "revision" of the rank and file of the Fascisti in order to free the party of all its undesirables.
3. Greater discipline.
4. The institution of a "Court of Discipline," presided over by some non-Fascist whose integrity is above discus-

sion, to have vigilance over the activities of the leaders of the Fascist Party.
5. Intensification of Fascist trade union activities.

His comments on normalization were interesting. He said that if normalization meant the return to strict legality and the suppression of violence, this was being and would be done, but if it meant the suppression of Fascismo, then the problem would assume the character of a trial of strength between Fascismo and the Opposition. "In any case," he added, "our régime refuses to submit to any judgment except the judgment of history."

The Opposition papers contain persistent reports that large shipments of arms to private individuals are being made throughout Italy, and the statement is made that the local prefects have paid no attention to complaints about the shipments. These arms—chiefly rifles and bayonets—have been associated by the opponents of Fascismo with the large gatherings of the militia that have taken place during the last month and with the constant talk in the more extreme Fascista papers of a second march on Rome.

A meeting of the Opposition parties that was scheduled at Rome for Aug. 3 was forbidden "for reasons of public safety." Reports of similar restrictions, that are in line with the treatment that the Opposition parties received during the recent election, have come from other parts of Italy. Yet, within a week comes news to show that there are apparently limits beyond which repression cannot be carried and that opposition cannot be permanently beaten into silence.

Unusually daring demonstrations against the Government were held by Communists in Rome on the evenings of Aug. 9 and 10. Carabineers, it was asserted, looked on with apparent indifference and made no efforts to interfere, the inference being that they were sympathetic to any anti-Fascist manifestation. At the meeting on Aug. 9 there were shouts of "Down with Mussolini!" and "Down with Fascismo!" On the fol-

lowing evening the Communists attached red flags to telephone poles. It was stated that the Communist revival had its origin outside Italy and was being stimulated by the way the Fascista Government had conducted affairs since the disappearance of Deputy Matteotti.

In spite of the disturbed condition of Italian public opinion, recent events have had very little effect on the state of Italian exchange, which, in marked contrast to French values, is actually somewhat stronger than was the case a year ago. There was a drop in Italian values on the Paris Bourse just before the Matteotti murder, a circumstance that has been charged by Farinacci to reports said to have been circulated by Cesare Rossi. Minister of Finance di Stefani, before going to London to represent Italy at the conference to discuss the Dawes plan, made a report to Mussolini in which he described the state of the budget as more favorable than it had been at the time when Parliament closed. Unemployment, according to reports, is a less serious problem than it was normally in pre-war days. On the other hand, this year's wheat crop is a failure, and a much larger importation of wheat than usual will be necessary. All bakeries in Rome have begun again to bake war bread, which is sold at the regular price, 1.20 lire a kilogram, while the usual white bread has been raised in price to 2 lire a kilogram.

In a lecture on the Capitoline on June 10 Senator Marconi gave an account of his recent experiments which, he believes, will produce a revolutionary effect in the use of radio. His discovery of the use of short variable wave lengths will, he claims, do away with the value of high-power stations, and, while diminishing the cost, will at the same time greatly increase the speed of the messages sent; there will also be less dependence on atmospheric conditions, and since the length of the waves can be varied, there can be more stations with no danger of interfering with each other.

Eastern Europe and the Balkans

By FREDERIC A. OGG,

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Bulgaria

DURING the month under review the possibility of another Bolshevik uprising like that of last September caused great apprehension in Sofia and throughout the country. It was well known to the authorities that, through the medium of the Bulgarian Communist Party, abetted by a portion of the Agrarian Party of Stambulisky, the Bolsheviks had been smuggling not only money but large quantities of arms and munitions across the borders from well-stocked bases near Vienna and Constantinople. Furthermore, the Bolsheviks have been organizing so-called brigand bands, which of late have committed such extensive depredations that the police and volunteer army have been ordered to pursue and wipe them out at all costs. In point of fact, these bands are composed not of ordinary brigands but of Communists masquerading as such with the object of terrorizing the countryside and killing such officials and well-to-do peasants as are known to be opposed to Communism. It is believed that there is also a fully formed plot for the assassination of Premier Tsankoff and other members of the Government.

Eighty per cent. of the country's population are peasants, among whom the conspirators have apparently so far met with no great success. But the Government is not blind to the danger. With a view to preventing the spread of peasant disaffection it has suspended further demands for payment of overdue taxes among the rural population, and has instructed the prefects to take the utmost pains to avoid acts likely to produce discontent. There are evidences that a general Balkan revolution is the Bolshevik objective, with Bulgaria considered the most promising field, with the possible exception of the Dobrudjan possessions of Rumania.

Linked up with the activities of the Communists are the raids of comitadji bands from Bulgarian bases upon adjacent portions of Yugoslavia and Greece; at the end of July these depredations precipitated the most tense international situation that Southeastern Europe had known for many months. On July 29 it was reported that the two disturbed States had formally agreed to order a combined advance against Bulgaria whenever Bulgarian comitadjis should make further serious raids in the territories of either. The demonstrations have not had Communist motives entirely; many of them have been outbreaks of Macedonian autonomists, who are believed to be preparing for a drive for reunion and independence under Bulgaria's protecting wing. A Greek General has made a special inspection of the frontiers in order to prepare the border troops for an immediate advance on Sofia when the occasion arises. The Bulgarian Government, on Aug. 3, notified both Greece and Yugoslavia that troops would be placed at the frontiers to prevent further bandit outrages.

On July 17 the Sobranje voted full amnesty for the Cabinet of Vaseil Radoslavoff, the former Bulgarian Premier, who was convicted with his Ministry of having brought Bulgaria into the World War on the side of the Central Powers. Radoslavoff and thirteen of his Ministers were arrested in 1918. The Premier and one of his colleagues escaped to Berlin; the remaining twelve were thrown into prison; and by vote of the people all were condemned last year to life sentences. The action of the Sobranje reverses this popular verdict.

Czechoslovakia

REAFFIRMING their faith in the original program for the Czechoslovak Republic laid down by President Masaryk in the so-called Wash-

ington Declaration, dated Paris, Oct. 18, 1918, but actually worked out during the Czech leader's stay in the American capital, 30,000 members of the Czechoslovak Legionaries' Association gathered in Prague on June 28 in a great convention and issued a manifesto to their former comrades in arms and to the country in general, indicating their readiness to support progressive legislation to the utmost and to block the reactionary currents recently in evidence in the war-born nation. Replying from the castle balcony to the greetings of the delegates, President Masaryk expressed the hope and confidence of the nation in the full triumph of "democracy and justice in all fields of human endeavor." In the course of his official tour about the same time through the province of Moravia, which has a considerable Jewish population, the President publicly affirmed his conviction that "there should be the most absolute equality of rights for all peoples and religious communities."

During the session of Parliament which ended late in June, a new law protecting tenants against landlords who would charge all they could collect and one extending unemployment insurance were put through, despite the opposition of the more reactionary bourgeois parties. An elaborate project for old age pensions for all workers did not come before the chamber, although prepared in great detail in committee. It will be on the program of the next session and is expected to pass.

No changes are reported in the tariff, despite the demands of the agrarians and industrialists for protection and the fight for free trade led by the Socialists. Through a cut of 30,000 men the peacetime army, however, is to be brought down to about 120,000, which means a large saving for the treasury.

The first of the court processes growing out of the oil and alcohol scandals bared last Winter came to an end on June 25 with the conviction of seven of the twelve civilian Government employees and business men under trial before the criminal provincial court on

charges of offering and accepting bribes in deals for supplying the army with gasoline.

Greece

AFTER approximately three months in office the Ministry of Papanastasion fell on July 19. It had been tottering ever since the abrupt resignation of General Condylis, Minister of War, and M. Tsouderos, Minister of Finance, in the early part of June. A new Cabinet with M. Sophoulis as Premier took office on July 24. Included in its membership was Georges Roussos, former Minister to the United States.

The Cabinet crisis thus formally terminated has injected a further element of uncertainty into the arduous process of converting Greece into a stable republic. General Condylis is the key man in the new situation. A vigorous, abrupt, relentless, self-confident person, trained in the ways of the army in the field, he resigned his post on the ground that the Papanastasion Government was weak and temporizing, and was taking no adequate steps to avert the spread of Communism among the laboring classes and the refugee populations. He has remained in Athens, and has continued to interest himself actively in the country's affairs; there is no inconsiderable possibility that time will see him established as dictator. He professes to be attached to a policy of peace abroad; but he would expect to rule at home with a powerful hand. Honesty is his slogan, and he believes in force as the best means of achieving it.

Added to the prospect of a dictatorship is the unsettling possibility of a monarchist reaction. There are distinct signs of renewed royalist activity and hopefulness. Indeed, many observers believe that a counter-revolution is imminent; and it is a well-known fact that the royalists have joined hands with the former Venizelists. The deposed King George, who is now on a visit to England, is quoted as saying that it is only a matter of time until he will be recalled to the throne.

One of the strangest migrations in history was completed on July 27, when the last 2,000 Turkish peasants in Greek Macedonia took ship for Constantinople, following the arrival of the final quota of Greeks from Pontius and other parts of Turkey. This exchange of populations, first suggested by American experts on Near Eastern affairs, was carried out under terms of the Lausanne Treaty. The Turks who have been transported to their homeland have been sent to villages in the Pontius or Kharpout areas, where they have been allotted land and dwellings. Large numbers of the Greeks transplanted into Europe, however, are still herded in concentration camps, where they are living in indescribable misery. The changing Greek Governments have been unequal to the task of caring for the unfortunates, and the resources of Western charity have not been adequate.

During the last week of July a new element was injected into the problem by the action of the Athens Government in serving notice on 50,000 Armenians that they must quit the country because they were occupying room needed by the Greek refugees. At last accounts, the League of Nations was trying to find some haven to which the evicted people might be directed. Since those to be evicted included orphans under care of the American Near East Relief, protest was made to Washington. Irwin Laughlin, the American Minister to Greece, started an inquiry on Aug. 3, and the eviction of America's protégés was halted pending developments.

Hungary

THE Reconstruction Loan, floated under the auspices of the League of Nations, has proved a complete success. Subscriptions in Great Britain covered more than twice the portion of the issue allocated to the investors of that country, and the American allotment—handled by a syndicate including Speyer & Co. and the Equitable Trust Company—was sold within forty-eight hours. In view of the good economic recovery

which Hungary is now making, the terms of the loan have been regarded as generous.

Evidences of this recovery are abundant. The Government has made agreements with almost all neighboring States regarding pre-war debts, and there have been credit understandings with Italy and Czechoslovakia. The foreign trade balance is improving, the import surplus in the first five months of 1924 being 454,000,000 gold crowns, against 852,000,000 in the same month of 1923. The exchange situation is definitely better, and the establishment of 271 new industrial concerns in 1923 indicates a substantial industrial uplift. Treasury receipts are large, and the sponsors of the Reconstruction Loan have announced that the revenues pledged as security for the issue amounted during the first half of the year to almost three times the sum required in an equal period of time for interest and sinking fund. The first report of Jeremiah Smith, Commissioner General representing the League of Nations, submitted in the middle of July, testified that the economic conditions of the country were fundamentally sound. However, the reduction of the number of Civil Service employes was proving more difficult than was anticipated; the State railways were still working at a loss, and unusual drought in July had considerably reduced crop prospects.

The political situation remained highly confused. On one hand, the reactionaries, captained by the Regent, Admiral Horthy, and including the Awakening Magyars and their sympathizers, were fearful that a relaxation of the present régime of modified terrorism would mean their loss of power. On the other hand, the Socialists and other liberals were clamoring for an end of the dictatorship and a definite organization of the country on a Democratic basis. Between the two policies, Premier Bethlen hesitated and temporized. In May he assured the twenty-four Socialist members of the National Assembly that most of their demands for a more liberal political policy, including political

amnesty, would be met, but he failed to make good his promises. Several of the emigrés who were misled by Bethlen's professions returned home to find themselves proceeded against on charges of high treason and other offenses. Real amnesty, however, has been extended on repeated occasions to Awakening Magyars guilty of killing labor leaders or Jews, and a cablegram of July 21 announced that, on the proposal of Admiral Horthy, the Cabinet had decided to pardon all persons involved in the attempt to restore the late Emperor Charles to his throne in 1921.

To the surprise of most of the deputies, and of political circles in general, the Summer session of the National Assembly was suddenly adjourned on July 3 until Oct. 1. Though the motion to adjourn was made by one of the opposition members, the Liberal papers assert that the Government was behind the move, as it wished to avoid discussion of the economic situation in the Assembly and a demand by the Socialists for the abolition of the notorious internment camp of Zala-Egerszeg.

The press in general, which opposed the Press law introduced by the Government some weeks ago as calculated to legalize the suppression of freedom of published opinion or facts, expresses its satisfaction that action on the bill will have to wait until the budget question is settled in the Autumn and the law for the election of a new City Government in Budapest enacted.

The present administration of the capital is under the control of Awakening Magyars and their sympathizers, as the result of an election held immediately after the overthrow of the Communist régime in the Summer of 1919. The Administration's term of office was due to expire with 1923, but, according to its hostile critics, the election was delayed for the purpose of enacting a law to restrict the municipal suffrage in such a way that the reactionaries would retain control in spite of the rising tide of Socialist and Liberal sentiment. In the meantime a Government Commis-

sioner has been ruling the capital since Jan. 1.

Poland

A CHANGE of considerable importance took place in the Polish Cabinet during July. Criticism of the administration of the Foreign Ministry by Count Maurice Zamoyski was voiced in the Diet more and more frequently by leaders of the Left as the Summer advanced. Although a vote of censure failed by a small majority the Foreign Minister tendered his resignation on July 17. Premier Grabski offered the post to Stanislas Thugutt, leader of the Radical Peasants' Party in the Diet. After consultation with his party Mr. Thugutt declined the offer and ten days later the post was accepted by Count Alexander Skrynski, a former Minister of Foreign Affairs, who only a few weeks ago was appointed Polish Minister to the League of Nations. He was Polish Minister to Rumania in 1920. Skrynski is classed as a political Liberal with support among the Left.

The Polish Parliament on July 11 adopted the budget for 1924—the first real budget ever given regular parliamentary approval in Poland in accordance with the Constitution. Hitherto, Parliament had had nothing better than sketchy provisional estimates on which to pass judgment. Hence the recent action is regarded as an epoch-making event—the crowning achievement in a long line of recent financial reforms. All parties voted for the budget except the Socialists and the National minorities. The total estimated expenditure is 1,490,000,000 zlotys (\$338,500,000), and revenue is computed at 1,422,000,000 zlotys (\$323,500,000). The largest item on the expenditure side is the military estimate, i. e., 615,000,000 zlotys; the largest on the revenue side is the estimated yield of the capital levy, i. e., 333,000,000 zlotys.

A week after the budget was passed Parliament enacted a separate measure creating a Government alcohol monopoly, which is expected to yield \$64,000,000 yearly, and whose proceeds

may be used as a guarantee for a loan which Premier Grabski may try to float in the United States. Negotiations were in progress between the two countries looking to a funding of Poland's debt on lines similar to those followed in the funding of the British obligation.

Much interest was aroused early in July by the introduction of the Government's long-awaited Minorities bill. The measure undertakes to concede complete freedom in the use of the Ukrainian, White Russian, Ruthenian and Lithuanian languages in the schools and before the courts and administrative authorities—rights which the national minorities did not have under Russian rule or during the past three years of Polish reorganization. The bill was voted on July 9, with the support of all Polish parties (about 75 per cent. of the Sejm), but over the protest of the various minorities, whose deputies took the ground that the rights granted are insufficient. The Jews were especially dissatisfied, for the reason that Yiddish is not included in the list of officially recognized languages.

The Government has under consideration various proposals looking toward the transfer of powers to local political bodies in the provinces of East Poland where the non-Polish population is large. The National Constitution was intentionally so framed as to make it possible for one part of the country to have a more decentralized form of government than another, and the province of Silesia, under a special statute, already enjoys more local power than the other provinces. Under the Presidency of Premier Grabski, a conference of experts on public law was held at Warsaw in May to consider this subject.

Rumania

AN American note protesting against the Rumanian mining law promulgated on July 8 was answered by the Bratiano Government in a State paper placed in the hands of the American Minister, Peter A. Jay, at Bucharest on July 26. The reply was to the effect

that, while Rumania intends to respect the existing acquired rights of all foreign-owned companies operating in the country's oil fields, the American demands constituted an infringement of the kingdom's sovereignty, and therefore could not be met. American and other foreign oil companies will become heavy losers if the new policy is adhered to, because the Bucharest Government will not lease them additional fields until 60 per cent. of their capital is in Rumanian bonds. The companies constantly require new fields, and hence will presently be obliged to sell the bulk of their stock to Rumanians at whatever price the purchasers may be willing to pay at forced sale. It has been estimated that the Mines act amounts to a confiscation of foreign oil properties to the value of \$150,000,000. The Standard Oil Company of New Jersey alone has more than \$20,000,000 invested in the country. The Government of the United States proposes to renew its protest, and with a view to considering the best method of doing so, and at the same time impressing the Bucharest Government with the seriousness of its offense, Mr. Jay has been instructed to return to Washington for consultation.

Meanwhile the Rumanian political and economic situation has become one of the most critical in all Europe. The visit of King Ferdinand and Queen Marie to France and Great Britain, in quest of the large loans imperatively needed for putting the country into a state of preparation against the avowed purpose of Soviet Russia to conquer Bessarabia, proved an utter failure. Partly because of the desire in both countries to foster trade relations with Russia, partly because of dislike of the Rumanian policy on foreign investments (which, in point of fact, the sovereigns personally disapproved), it was impossible to obtain a penny, and was in fact made clear that nothing could be expected in the future. So desperate is the situation that there is much talk of a visit by the Queen to the United States this Fall, ostensibly for social purposes.



JON BRATIANO
Premier of Rumania.

but in reality to try to interest American financiers in a loan to Rumania.

Moved by advices from Sofia that the Communists were preparing to establish a Soviet dictator in Bulgaria, the Rumanian Government, for the second time this year, decreed a state of siege on July 25. Political meetings were totally forbidden; all publications were placed under rigorous censorship, and all Communist organizations were ordered dissolved.

Chief among national events during the month was the closing of Parliament on June 30; the King's message, read by Premier Bratiano, cited the laws voted at the last session, as: The forest law, completing the agrarian reform; the law for the commercialization of the Government enterprises; the mining and the waterfalls law, for the valorization of the natural resources of the country; the law for the reorganization of the courts; the law concerning school education, and the military law.

Yugoslavia

THE Ministry of Nikola Pashitch—the oldest and most picturesque of European Premiers—somewhat unexpectedly resigned on July 18. The King asked M. Yovanovitch, President of the Skupstina (National Assembly) to form a Coalition Ministry, but the effort proved unavailing, and the final selection was M. Liouba Davidovitch, whose Cabinet finally took the oath of office on July 29. A Ministerial declaration was issued to the effect that the Government's foreign policy would be directed along the lines of "peace in the Balkans and general pacification everywhere in a spirit similar to that of the MacDonald and Herriot Governments."

The new Cabinet, as tentatively completed, follows:

M. DAVIDOVITCH—Premier.

M. MARINKOVITCH—Foreign Affairs.

DR. KOROSHETZ—Public Worship.

DR. SPAHO—Finance.

The resignation of the Pashitch Government was induced primarily by friction growing out of the Croatian question. After the seventy Croatian Agrarians consented to sit in the Assembly in April of this year, the Premier's position grew more and more difficult, and the Ministry's resignation was accompanied by a recommendation to the King to call a new election, in the hope that another Assembly might prove more successful in dealing with the autonomist movement than the existing one had been.

In view of the manifest intention of the Third International to undertake further revolutionary activities in the Balkans, special precautionary measures are being employed in Yugoslavia, as well as in Bulgaria and elsewhere. On July 15 workers' associations, which are alleged to be pursuing political activities under cover of professional aims, were closed throughout the country, and on the following day former leaders and secretaries of the Communist Party, together with a large number of other suspected persons were placed under arrest.

Russia and the Baltic States

By ALEXANDER PETRUNKEVITCH,

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OFFICIAL and private news from Russia is again confusing and contradictory. Governmental statements and reports of correspondents indicate a general improvement of conditions and intimate that all statements to the contrary emanate from Russian refugee sources abroad and from enemies of Soviet Russia. On the other hand private letters received in this country and Europe from educated men who have not left Russia for the past ten years all point to a continued disquietude and a strong desire to leave their country for good at the first opportunity. The probable reason for this attitude of many educated people is not the economic crisis through which Russia was passing some time ago, nor the probability of an impending famine the extent of which cannot yet be fully ascertained, but the moral pressure, the absolute lack of freedom of all expression contrary to the policy and creed of the ruling party, and the difficulty, often amounting to an impossibility, of pursuing one's vocation according to one's own desires. The peasants, who have never had any freedom in the past, who owing to the long-coveted possession of land found their chief desire satisfied and are therefore in many respects happier at present than they were under the Czar's régime, cannot and do not feel the effect of the stern rule of the Bolshevik Party as the educated, professional, trading and manufacturing classes do. It is the irony of Russian history that economic and social problems should have pushed the more than a century-old struggle for freedom into the background and so completely crushed the innate idealism of the Russian people that even foreign observers begin to labor under the delusion that lasting national welfare is possible without a guiding principle of justice and freedom.

Even the reports about the harvests are not without material discrepancies. An estimate considerably lower than that of a fortnight before was given on July 14 to the Presidium of the Supreme Economic Council by Popoff of the Soviet Statistical Bureau. According to him a shortage of nearly 200,000,000 poods (a pood is equivalent to 36 pounds) is to be expected and a further decrease is likely if the unfavorable weather conditions continue. A few days later the Government published a statement in which the estimated shortage was placed at 150,000,000 poods, but, according to a telegram from Berlin, dated July 23, Soviet official organs in Moscow admit that the failure of the crops this year is greater than it was in 1920. Harvesters in the Ukraine expect to get only 10 per cent. of the normal crop, while the crops in the districts along the Lower Volga are a total loss. The Soviet Government has appropriated \$32,000,000 for the purpose of coping with the famine. Of this amount \$15,000,000 is to be used for seed and the rest for direct assistance to peasants in famine stricken districts. The Central Committee published an appeal to members of the Communist Party to help the Government in its work of warding off the famine. The appeal points out that not more than seven or eight million people will be affected this year, as compared with thirty million affected by the last famine. The committee therefore issues a warning against reports of widespread famine emanating from enemies of the State and points out that the Government has taken every precaution to meet the needs of the population.

An acute sugar shortage due to the failure of the sugar beet crop in the Ukraine is also threatening. Seven of the largest sugar refining factories in

the Provinces of Kiev and Kursk have suspended work owing to lack of raw material. To safeguard the public interest the Government has arranged to purchase large quantities of sugar from abroad and will regulate its market price.

One of the consequences of the impending famine is an expected advance in the price of wheat from 50 kopeks per pood to 75 kopeks. It is hoped that this will enable the peasants to pay the cash tax which represents the chief source of State revenue. Some information gathered by The New York Times correspondent points also to the fact that the cooperatives and State organizations are planning to export not less than 100,000,000 poods of wheat.

Two decrees were published on July 18 purporting to combat the spread of unemployment. The first decree allows the hiring of unregistered persons as "temporary employees" by State organizations and private employers. The second decree permits registered persons to seek jobs for themselves, but requires them to inform the Labor Exchange inspectors to make sure that trade union wage rates will be maintained. All prisoners serving in Soviet jails for minor offenses will receive thirty days' vacation in order to help in gathering the harvest. This decree applies especially to peasants and Red Army soldiers who were sentenced for offenses committed owing to reduced circumstances of living. The Central Executive Committee requested the prison authorities to assure themselves beforehand that the prisoners would return at the end of thirty days.

The State Planning Commission has approved the report of the Leningrad Soviet recommending the appropriation of \$13,000,000 from State funds for the purpose of saving the city from growing ruin. The plan includes the reconstruction of canals, renovation of ruined buildings, preservation of empty houses and repaving of streets. The work will require five years.

Recent dissensions within the Russian Orthodox Church and Communist anti-

religious propaganda have forced several churches to suspend services. The Cathedral of St. Isaac closed its doors a short time ago, and now the Cathedral of Kazan on the Nevsky Prospekt will soon celebrate mass for the last time before it becomes an art museum. The historical museum of Leningrad has offered to take over the management of the magnificent edifice built in the form of a cross 236 feet long and 180 feet wide and containing celebrated paintings, gold ikons, 103 banners and other trophies captured from Napoleon, a solid silver balustrade weighing 3,600 pounds and the body of Field Marshal Kutuzov, who lost Moscow to Napoleon in the Battle of Borodino.

Notwithstanding recent edicts affecting the academic institutions and especially the universities throughout Russia, scientific investigation continues unabated, the more to the credit of the men who hold out against all adversities for the sake of science. They are still handicapped by a lack of instruments, equipment, books and periodicals as well as by inadequate appropriations. To be sure, the trend of investigations has had to be shifted to more practical problems than in the past, but purely scientific interest has by no means abated. Archaeological excavations are in progress in the South, where 106 ancient Greek tombs have been unearthed in the dead city of Olyva near Odessa and more than 1,700 articles of great interest brought to light, including a number of vases, amulets, knives of bronze and copper and a linen bag containing a mirror, some tufts of false hair, bracelets, earrings, beads and jewels. An expedition of more than 200 scientists, explorers, geographers and assistants under the leadership of Professor Matousevitch has been sent by the Leningrad Academy of Science to make an exhaustive survey of the island of Novaya Zemlya in the Arctic and, if possible, to seek a safe passage for merchant vessels through the Strait of Matochkin Shar, which connect the Kara Sea with the Barents Sea.

A serious epidemic of malaria in the

Ukraine has again broken out. More than 400,000 cases have been recorded during the past five months. In some villages the entire population has been stricken by the disease, which is said to be of the malignant type.

The cruiser Vorovsky has left Kronstadt on a trip to Vladivostok, where she will be employed to guard the fisheries and other interests of the Soviet Federation.

The Secretariat of the Soviet War Office issued a statement denying the figures given out by the British military expert, Colonel Repington, as to the number of men in the Red Army. According to the War Office the total armed forces of the Soviet Federation number exactly 562,926.

A new decree has been issued by Soviet Russia, under which a divorce can be obtained at a cost of \$1.50 without any difficulty provided both parties agree to the dissolution of the marriage ties. If one party objects, the case must be referred to the courts, which will decide the question on its merits. Misconduct does not constitute a valid reason for divorce, but desertion, religious superstition, excessive religious piety, incompatibility of characters and divergence in political views are held to be sufficient causes. No Russian may obtain a divorce and remarry more than three times within a year. During the first six months of 1924 divorces in the Moscow district increased by 45 per cent. as compared with the previous year. In some cases the applicants for divorce were married only from three days to three months. Religious superstition was the most common cause given in the applications.

The Jewish Telegraphic Agency reports that many Zionists have been arrested in various cities. The reason for the arrests is not mentioned.

Several Russian Communist Organizations in the Ukraine and the Crimea have passed resolutions with regard to the commencement of Jewish colonization work. Most of the colonies will be along the coast of the Black Sea.

About 300,000 acres will be devoted to this purpose from the State land fund. The "Emes," the organ of the Jewish Communists in Moscow, demands that a central organization be created for the purpose of supervising the work of colonization.

A. P. Serebrovsky, President of the Azerbaijan Oil Trust, which operates in the rich Baku fields and provides 75 per cent. of all Soviet Russia's petroleum output, arrived in New York on July 29. He stated that Russia had been able to go ahead with oil exploitation work without the aid of foreign capital and could get along very well without such aid. According to Mr. Serebrovsky, the output of oil by the State enterprise will this year very nearly reach the pre-war average output of 50,000,000 barrels. Production in the Baku territory is now at the rate of about 48,000,000 barrels and new wells are being brought in constantly. Inhabitants of the region are witnessing, he said, the greatest activity in the oil fields there in thirty years. A total of 54,000 workers are employed and most of them are housed at or near Baku, on the Caspian Sea, and being transported to and from the oil fields by an electric interurban railway. The housing development is about twenty to twenty-five miles from the oil fields now being exploited.

Philip Rothrock, United States Government grain supervisor, reports that the Russian grain export trade, which before the war was more or less disorganized, is now carried on under the sole direction of the Central Government and every precaution is being taken to guarantee that the grain exported will prove satisfactory to the foreign purchaser. The large wheat export trade of Russia before the war was carried on entirely by private dealers. Wheat qualities, however, were uncertain and frequently the grain was heavily mixed with seeds, dirt and other foreign material. In addition, loading parcels were very irregular, some being small and others large, and they were almost invariably poorly

stowed. Receivers naturally had to take due precaution against the uncertainty of Russian wheat deliveries. The Russian Government since the war, however, is making every endeavor to remove the uncertainties that have always been attached to the quality and condition of shipments from that country. The Central Government, which is now the only dealer in grain, includes in its export organization a buying or receiving department and a selling or exporting department, and a strict system of grading and supervision of loading is carried on in all the exporting ports.

The International Alliance against the Third (Communist) International was established at a meeting in Paris on June 23 and 24, attended by representatives of organizations in England, Belgium, Finland, France, Norway, Russia, Switzerland and Holland. It was decided to establish a permanent office in Geneva and hold the next meeting in Hungary in the Autumn, when a detailed plan to wage the struggle against the Communist International will be framed. The chief organizer of this new anti-Communist body is Théodore Aubert, a well-known Swiss lawyer, practicing in Geneva, who believes that "Europe and America have been too long indifferent to the Bolshevik danger, whose subtle poison has filtered into the very lifeblood of civilized society."

Latvia

AFTER five years of continued work the reconstruction of the national harbors of Latvia is now practically completed. Riga has now twenty-two warehouses. The River Dvina has been deepened to 24-26 feet. In Windau the pier and the quay have been repaired. The lighthouse at Domesnas has been also repaired and a new lighthouse at Ovisa is in the process of con-

struction. The Libau Harbor has been deepened.

The administrative divisions and districts of Latvia have been changed by a new law made public on June 26. According to this law the whole territory of Latvia is to be divided into nineteen districts: Azzpute, Bauska, Cesis, Daugavpils, Ilukste, Jaunlatgale, Kekabpils, Jelgava, Kuldiga, Liepaja, Ludza, Madona, Rezekne, Riga, Talsi, Tukums, Valka, Valmiera and Ventspils.

A commercial treaty between Latvia and Holland was signed at Riga on July 2.

Lithuania

A NEW Lithuanian Government was formed in June with Antanas Tumenas as Prime Minister, Minister of Justice and Director of the Ministry of Interior, and Voldemaras Carneckis as Minister of Foreign Affairs.

The Lithuanian Parliament ratified on July 31 the extradition treaty with the United States of America.

Esthonia

IN June 20 a law was passed in Esthonia introducing gold currency. The Esthonian kroon, containing 0.403226 grams of pure gold, is equal to the Swedish crown and represents a par value of 26.8 cents.

The prospects for the Winter crops in Esthonia were slightly below normal at the beginning of July, but much higher than the average for Summer crops and hay.

A Finnish-Ugrian Congress for drawing closer the relations between Finno-Ugrian peoples was held in Reval late in June. Esthonia, Finland and Hungary were represented, and cultural rapprochement was advocated.

Many local song festivals were held during June, the most important taking place at Narva, where 181 choirs were represented.

Other Nations of Europe

By RICHARD HEATH DABNEY,

Professor of History, University of Virginia

Spain

PRIMO DE RIVERA, in an interview at Tangier on July 15, made the amazing statement that, though Spain's mission in Morocco was purely pacific, rebellion must be stamped out with an iron hand. According to an Associated Press dispatch from Ceuta on July 18, these purely pacific missionaries numbered 70,000 regular Spanish troops, 20,000 natives, and a foreign legion of about 6,000 men. If the pacific measures of these 96,000 soldiers failed, Spain, the dictator said, would stand no nonsense. He stated also that his corps of highly efficient aviators would soon be greatly increased. Yet, in spite of his decision to stand no nonsense and to suppress rebellion with an iron hand, he indicated his intention to withdraw the Spanish troops from the fighting front, leaving garrisons on the coast and at certain fortresses. However, it was believed that Rivera would abandon the idea of withdrawal, because of the strong opposition of most of the army officers and of some of the friendly native chieftains. When he started for Spain few officers saw him off, and the coolness of those who did was remarked upon. In fact, a dispatch from Paris to The New York World on July 28 stated that a number of officers had announced their intention to refuse obedience to his orders for a retreat. A wireless message to The New York Times from Tangier reported that the Riffs captured the Spanish advanced base camp on July 25 and that next day many wounded were arriving at Tetuan.

The correspondent of a London newspaper asserts that the new Municipal law "put into force on April 1" contains the most ample provision for local autonomy and the development of every class of local institution. At the same

time he states that, when the King visited Barcelona in May, the Mancomunidad (the organ of local administration for Catalonia) was composed of mere nominees sent to Barcelona by the Military Delegates. The wrongs of Catalonia, indeed, have aroused indignation all over Europe as well as among intellectual Spaniards in other parts of Spain. In Paris a special organ has been established to plead the Catalan cause, *Le Courrier Catalan*, published twice a month. The first number appeared on May 16 and contained the statement that the paper was intended to inform the public of the facts connected with a problem which could no longer be ignored. The number of July 1 contained a letter written by Miguel de Unamuno on March 21, shortly after his exile to the islet of Fuerte-Ventura. He has recently been freed by the Dictator, or, as a cable to The New York World says, rescued by Henri Dumay, editor of the *Paris Quotidien*, and intends to continue from Paris his campaign against the Dictatorship in Spain.

In the letter referred to Unamuno fiercely assails the Directory as a clique of gamblers, libertines and drunkards, and accuses Primo de Rivera of profiting by the cowardice of the King and the army to seize power in order to recoup his losses, after having gambled away the fortune of his children, which had come from their mother. This view of the Directory seems similar to that of ex-Premier Maura, a letter from whom has slipped through the censorship to the French frontier. According to Maura, the Directorate is a creature and servant of a "notorious military officers' committee."

The arbitrary rule of Rivera is arousing universal indignation. Perhaps his liberation of Unamuno (if he did free him) was due to fear of European pub-

lic opinion. Perhaps, too, as *Le Courier Catalan* intimates, his conferring of titles of nobility upon the Catalan poet, Guimera, and the sculptor Llimona (in imitation of Mussolini's making d'Annunzio a prince), was an attempt to atone for the exile of Unamuno. If so, the attempt was futile, for, says *Le Courier Catalan*, "the sculptor and the poet, not to be bought so cheaply, proudly returned the patents of nobility to the assassin of their country." The same French paper narrates how tens of thousands of Catalan patriots, in order to call attention to the coldness of the reception given to King Alfonso at Barcelona, gave frenzied applause for three quarters of an hour to Mary Pickford and Douglas Fairbanks when they arrived in the same city shortly afterwards. The shouts of "Long live the sovereigns—of the screen!" were well understood at Barcelona, and even at Madrid. Catalans and strangers residing in Barcelona exploded with laughter.

The Council of the League of Nations was, of course, obliged to decline the

petition of the Catalans to intervene in their dispute with the Spanish Government. But the petition, none the less, aroused interest in and sympathy for the Catalans.

Ditspatches from Madrid dated Aug. 10 stated that sources close to the Government made it clear that the Military Directorate was still in complete control and would continue to be until "the politicians of the old régime have been ousted from the political arena and their parties have disappeared." For this reason the Government was favorably disposed toward the formation of new parties, with their ranks open to all classes. According to one official, it was the intention of the Government to form a phalanx of new elements with but one aim—to bar the return to power of members of former Governments. When this was accomplished and its work was finished, the Military Directorate was ready to step out and hand over the reins of Government to those it considered capable of continuing the good work accomplished by the Directorate.



General Primo de Rivera, the Spanish dictator, with his staff in Morocco, studying the plan of campaign against the Riff tribesmen

These statements were, in view of the actual situation, not to be taken too seriously.

Portugal

THE Lisbon correspondent of The London Morning Post states that the unpopularity of the late Government was due largely to its financial policy. The decrees by which interest on the internal loan of 1923 and on the external debt is to be paid in paper money instead of gold vitally affected public credit. The number of notes in circulation increased weekly, in spite of the Government's constant assurance that no more would be printed. The terms on which the loan of £3,500,000 was floated are severely criticized as jeopardizing the country's financial independence. The financial management of Angola is also criticized. The majority by which the Government was overthrown was made up of Catholics, Independents, Monarchists and Democrats, in addition to that half of the Nationalists which is led by Cunha Leal.

The Portuguese aviators, Lieutenants Beiros and Paes, who flew from Lisbon to Sanchun, near Hongkong, where their airplane was damaged, have sailed for home.

When a Lisbon policeman on July 18 reprimanded a soldier for improper language to a woman fishmonger a fight arose which ended in the death of eight persons and the wounding of several others.

Switzerland

IN a recent number of *L'Europe Nouvelle* there appeared an interesting and laudatory review of "La Suisse une et diverse," by Gonzague de Reynold. The book is a condensed form of the author's series of volumes entitled "Citiés et Pays Suisses," and explains how the numerous cantons, in spite of the three racial groups, German, Italian and French, have maintained their national unity. The author divides Swiss history into three periods—the heroic, ending with the Protestant Reformation;

the patrician, closing with the French Revolution, and the present or democratic period, which may be approaching a social crisis. He attributes Swiss unity amid diversity to the power of tradition and history as well as to the geographical nature of the country.

During the last Winter season 56,500 German tourists visited Switzerland, as compared with 9,000 during the previous season.

Holland

THE Papal Legate, Cardinal Van Rossum, opened the Eucharistic Congress at Amsterdam on July 22. He was welcomed by the Dutch officials and several foreign prelates, and administered the pontifical blessing. The Congress closed on July 26 and the next morning the Legate celebrated pontifical mass at the Stadium, and presided at a pontifical thanksgiving service in the afternoon. About 30,000 people were present at each service and a choir of 3,000 boys sang. The ceremony closed with a Procession of the Sacrament around the Stadium, participated in by dignitaries from all over the world. The American section thanked the Congress for selecting Chicago as the meeting place in 1925. On the previous day the Rev. William O'Ryan of Denver had disagreed with Mgr. Purcell of Chicago, who advocated the revival of spiritual ideals by frequent communions. However, the section adopted a resolution urging the necessity of preaching eucharist devotion more intensively than heretofore. Another resolution recommended that, in view of the scarcity of priests for confession, the clergy give special attention to fostering vocations among the boys of their parishes.

Denmark

IT is officially stated that the export of agricultural products was very satisfactory during June, as to both quantities and prices. The labor situation is also better than last year, the percentage of unemployment at the end

of June being only 5.1 as against 8.1 at that date in 1923. The Government's receipts of taxes in June on articles of consumption exceeded by more than a million kroner the receipts for that month last year.

The Association for the Education of Young Business Men, which owns and manages the Merchants' School in Copenhagen, has decided to expand the institution so that from September the Commercial High School will offer a two-year' course, with instruction in commercial science, correspondence, bookkeeping, banking and insurance.

The liquor treaty between Denmark and the United States (similar to our treaty with Great Britain) went into effect on July 26.

The reunion of Slesvig with Denmark has brought about a revival of lace making, which a century and a half ago gave employment to from 10,000 to 12,000 people in the old Danish city of Tonder. During the German occupation this handicraft was almost crowded out by machine-made products, but now old ladies equipped with bobbins are once more teaching the young the oak leaf and flower designs of Tonder lace.

At the recent annual meeting of the National Association for Combating Tuberculosis Professor Faber reported a continued decrease in the mortality rate. Between 1897 and 1922 the number of deaths from this disease has decreased from 7,000 to 3,200.

Johann L. Boch, Police Commissioner of Copenhagen, arrived in New York on July 19 to study that city's police methods. He has 1,000 men to patrol Copenhagen, with 700,000 inhabitants. There are only about three capital crimes a year in all Denmark with its 3,500,000 people. No criminal has been beheaded since 1880, as the authorities consider life imprisonment a more effectual deterrent from crime.

The Copenhagen Discount and Revision Bank suspended payments on July 18, but is declared by its director

to be solvent, though in need of liquid resources.

President Beatty of the Canadian Pacific Railway arrived in Copenhagen on July 24, empowered to offer special facilities and virtually free farm land to Danish settlers in Canada.

Norway

THE Ministry of Premier Berge resigned on July 22 because its bill for the repeal of the present liquor law and for permitting trade in liquors and alcohol under Government control was defeated. Confronted by a deficit of 120,000,000 kroner and by a prospective deficit of 30,000,000 more, the Government desired a new source of revenue and estimated that its proposed liquor law would bring an income of 30,000,000 kroner. The Radicals, led by Dr. Mowinckel, and joined by the Communists, defeated the bill. The new Ministry, headed by Mowinckel, is pledged to maintain the present law, which permits certain quantities of heavy wines to be imported in accordance with treaties with other countries.

The number of registered unemployed in Norway was reduced by July 28 to 10,000, with 6,000 engaged in State emergency work.

The treaty between Norway and Denmark with regard to East Greenland became effective on July 10.

At Christiania on Aug. 1 Miss Virginia Gildersleeve of New York was elected President of the Congress of the International Federation of University Women. The Congress decided to collect a million dollar fund for international fellowships for university women.

Sweden

THE Swedish Baltic Fleet was recently received at Helsingfors with extraordinary cordiality, the Finnish press emphasizing the importance for Finland's safety of Swedish naval strength. The fleet has also been enthusiastically received at Reval and Riga.

Carl von Heidenstam has been appointed Swedish Minister to Russia. Sweden's trade with Russia greatly improved in June, when Russian orders placed in Sweden amounted to more than a million dollars, with prospects of considerable increase.

Sweden's lumber, wood-pulp and iron ore industries report heavy sales, but prices have not been satisfactory. Crop prospects, in general, are not good. Swedish exports exceeded imports in June by about \$5,000,000.

The Swedish Wholesale Cooperative Society, which began in 1899 with a capital of \$150, but which had a turnover of \$54,000,000 last year, has just celebrated its twenty-fifth anniversary at Stockholm. It does the largest wholesale business in foodstuffs, has a membership of nearly 1,000 local societies, and conducts for its members a savings bank which has about 35,000 depositors.

The Government Committee, which has been investigating for five and a half years the effects of Sweden's import tariff schedule, has just submitted a bulky report, the main drift of which is that protective tariffs are disadvantageous to the country as a whole, increasing the cost of living, raising prices, increasing the value of farm lands, protecting certain industries, but handicapping exports.

The net increase of the Swedish merchant fleet during the first half of 1924 was eight ships with 18,000 gross tons. A large motorship just launched for the Pacific Mail Company of San Francisco will run between Seattle, San Francisco and Valparaiso.

The Swedish delegates to the Moscow Communist Congress have returned, and the Communist leaders met July 16 to discuss the split in their party, one section of which is opposed to the Communist International of Moscow. A Russian Soviet emissary has been expelled for activity hostile to Z. Hoeglund, a leader of the anti Moscow faction.

The Swedish press has denounced the propaganda of Mrs. Katherine Tingley, the American theosophist, who arrived

recently in Gothenburg, and was received by Gyllengerg, the chief Swedish theosophist.

Owing to the absence of red tape methods in connection with the obtaining of radio permits about 5,000 radio broadcasting and receiving stations have been licensed within little more than a month, and already 10,000 more radio amateurs have applied for licenses

Finland

THE Industrial Mortgage Loan Bank of Finland, founded by the three largest banks in Finland to supply the credit needs of industrial concerns, began operations in July. Parliament granted a State guarantee for a necessary foreign loan, and in July the bank secured a loan of \$12,000,000 in the United States.

The economic condition of Finland is good, the foreign trade in June showing a surplus of 75,000,000 marks exports over imports.

Finland participated for the first time in the Scandinavian Inter-Parliamentary League Conference held in Christiania, Norway, during July. This league, now composed of Sweden, Norway, Denmark and Finland, has for its purpose the formulation of common action in the conferences of the World's Inter-Parliamentary League, to care for the common interests of these countries, and to promote neighborly relations. This league is one of the many manifestations of cooperation between the Scandinavian countries.

Finland again took prominent part in the Olympic games, winning second place in the track and field events. Finland secured ten gold medals, the United States having the lead with twelve. All other participating nations had a total of only five gold medals. Finland particularly distinguished herself in the events requiring strength and endurance, winning all the endurance runs with Nurmi, Ritola, Stenroos and others, and through her wrestlers winning the greater portion of the wrestling prizes.

Turkey and the Near East

By ALBERT HOWE LYBYER,

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Turkey

THE Prime Minister General Ismet Pasha, on a tour in Western Asia Minor in the middle of July, made speeches at Magnesia and Smyrna in which he set forth some of the aims of current Turkish politics. He stated that the reconstruction of the country was to be accomplished by the encouragement of Turkish private initiative, particularly in agriculture. The Government was finding money for the Agricultural Bank, which would assist farmers. The Government had spent \$8,000,000 on railways since the war, and proposed to build 125 miles more during the remainder of this year. Turkey, he said, proposed to pay her share of the pre-war Ottoman debt. As soon as possible after the ratification of the Treaty of Lausanne an agreement would be sought as regards the basis of payment. He hoped that the Turkish and British Governments could yet come to an agreement on the Mosul question. No more concessions would be given to speculators who had not proper financial backing, but expected to pass on the rights obtained to other people for a consideration.

The consent of the Irish Free State to the Lausanne Treaty has made possible its ratification by the British Government. Inasmuch as Japan and Italy had already ratified the treaty, it can now come into force.

Considerable activity has been reported on the part of Turkish Ministers of State and other officials. Special commercial directors have been appointed to supervise economic reconstruction, and in particular to maintain the preponderance of Turkish employes in companies and firms engaged in commerce and trade. The Ministry of Justice is drawing up lists of lawyers, with

the aim of eliminating all who are not properly trained. A full legal course of study is ultimately to be required, and lawyers will be allowed to plead in court only after three years' office practice. Six deputies, the Director of Police at Constantinople and ten other police officers have been found guilty of irregularities in permitting wealthy Armenians to return to Turkey for a price.

The Government is reported to have decided finally not only to purchase the Anatolian Railway, but also to manage it without the employment of any foreign agency. Sleeping cars are to be placed on the run between Constantinople and Angora. Already a new train service has been inaugurated on this line, with two daily trains, which make the trip not in twenty-six, but in fifteen hours. It is announced that after Sept. 27 the Turkish Government will maintain a monopoly of the manufacture, importation and sale of matches.

Emin Bey, the new prefect of Constantinople, began his work on June 30 by notifying officials that, if they extorted money from merchants, they would be dismissed summarily, and that, if they found themselves unable to live on their salaries, they should resign. This was rather a grim statement; at the time it was made the postmen in Constantinople were striking because they declared themselves unable to live on their pay of \$10 a month. Emin Bey also declared war on the ancient guilds of porters, lightermen and dockers. He announced that henceforth any one might become a porter upon obtaining a certificate from the municipal authorities. Hitherto, he said, guild officials had taken three-fourths of the pay of the porters or hammals. Henceforth the overhead expenses would be carried by city officials, who would

give three-fourths of the money earned to the porters. The hammals until now had paid from \$25 to \$50 as an initiation fee, after which they were assigned a limited field in which they might work. About 5,500 porters, 5,000 lightermen and 500 dockers were affected by this order.

Dr. Adnan Bey retired about July 1, after a year and a half's service as Constantinople representative of the Turkish Foreign Office. He was succeeded by Noursret Bey, who had been acting as the legal adviser. Dr. Adnan Bey intends to serve as deputy from Constantinople in the next session of the Angora Assembly.

The Minister of Public Instruction sent an order late in June to the Jewish schools of Constantinople, forbidding them to use the French language as their principal medium of instruction, and requiring them to use Hebrew instead. The Jews of the city protested vigorously, but it could not be denied that the move was a logical one. An ordinance was later announced requiring all Jews who were foreign subjects temporarily resident in Turkey to leave the country within one year. Jews from Russia proper and White Russia were prohibited from transshipping in Constantinople.

The Adana exposition of agricultural machinery and Turkish domestic products was held from May 10 to May 31. The grounds were well laid out near the railway station. The domestic goods and the attendance were mostly from Cilicia. Demonstrations and contests were held with various makes of tractors and motor plows, in which the American machines were only moderately successful.

Reports of actual business conditions in Constantinople and Turkey generally were not particularly encouraging. There was little purchasing power and goods remained in the custom houses. Much of the transit trade of Constantinople, such as that in Persian rugs and British and Turkish coal, has gone to Soloniki and the Piraeus. Nevertheless there were expressions of considerable

hope for the future. Colonel H. Woods, British Commercial Secretary at Constantinople, reported that whereas the Angora Government imposed between November, 1922, and June, 1923, many restrictions which greatly hindered the revival of trade, these were very largely removed or modified later in the year, so that at this time the customs régime was no longer an obstacle to trade. Among the difficulties involved may be mentioned the exaction of guarantees and special permissions, refusal of permission to unload goods at night, double duties on transshipped goods, the modification of tariff rates to five or even fifteen times the former figures, the Turkification of the port services—the pilot boats, tugs and lighters—and heavy consumption taxes on such articles as rice, oleomargarin, spices and sweets.

It is possible to find several bright spots in the Turkish financial situation, as was done by a writer in the English *Saturday Review*. While the budget shows an apparent deficit of \$5,000,000, there will probably be no deficit because all the credits cannot be expended during the year. There is outstanding only \$70,000,000 worth of paper money, and there is absolute refusal to increase the quantity. The internal war debt has practically all been settled. It is expected that Turkey will be allotted about 60 per cent. of the pre-war external debt of the Ottoman Empire. The Government hopes by obtaining an allowance for depreciation of exchange to pay this at about one-third of gold value. Thus Turkey will bear only about one-fifth of the pre-war debt, or about \$100,000,000. Labor is said to be plentiful and contented, there is no unemployment, the taxes are kept moderate and food remains cheap.

The Imperial Ottoman Bank has agreed to advance 2,000,000 Turkish pounds to the Ottoman Agricultural Bank at 6 per cent. interest. In case the Angora Assembly should refuse to ratify the transaction, the money will be repaid next March. The bank in its annual report of July 16 reported an operating loss for the year of about

\$300,000, mostly due to fluctuations in exchange. There were poor crops in Western Anatolia in 1923, with few hands to manage them. The crops in Eastern Turkey were better, but transport was bad. The branches of the bank report economic recovery in Syria, Palestine, Egypt, Mesopotamia, Persia and Greece. The bank expects to obtain renewal of its concession until March 1, 1935, perhaps with a modification of its official name.

It is reported from Constantinople that Dr. Edgar J. Fisher, professor of history in Robert College, had been required to leave Turkey. He is charged with having talked against Turkey ("indulged in anti-Turkish propaganda") in a recent lecture on board a tourist steamer in the harbor. The method of expulsion was a threat to close the college if Dr. Fisher were not sent away. Thus does the advanced Angora Government defend itself by activities which occasionally surpass in severity and stupidity those of Abdul Hamid II. A candid friend is rather to be rewarded than injured; he may become a dangerous critic.

Egypt

PRIME MINISTER ZAGHLUL PASHA

SHA has continued to be the centre of political interest. On July 12 he was shot by an Egyptian medical student. The bullet passed through the Prime Minister's arm and grazed his chest. Some blood was lost, but a few days in a hospital brought about complete recovery. The assailant was about 25 years of age, the son of an Egyptian Kadi, or Judge. He had recently returned from studying in Berlin. He claimed that he had no intention to kill Zaghlul Pasha, but wished to frighten him and prevent his opening negotiations with the British Government. He particularly objected to the fact that Zaghlul had permitted Lord Allenby, the British High Commissioner, to make alterations in the speech from the throne which was delivered at the opening of the Egyptian Parliament, and had re-

ferred to the British as "honorable adversaries." He claimed to have no accomplices. Nevertheless, a large number of persons were arrested on suspicion.

Ten days later Zaghlul Pasha proceeded from Cairo to Alexandria on his way to Europe. He had what might be termed a triumphal progress, beginning with enormous enthusiastic crowds which thronged his carriage in Cairo and continued to appear at all the railroad stations en route. The special train was supposed to be used only by the Premier and members of the Cabinet and the Legislature; but many persons crowded on the platforms and roofs of the cars. He was received with equal enthusiasm by the people of Alexandria. On July 24 a farewell tea party was given in his honor, attended by notables to the number of about 1,000. Zaghlul made the somewhat cryptic declaration as regards the coming negotiations with Great Britain that "if he found that to open them did not mean that Egypt would lose and that others would gain any rights, he would take part in them, and by the grace of Allah and the support of the Egyptian people he would succeed." The following day the Premier set sail. He was accompanied by his wife, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Wassaf Pasha Ghali, a private secretary, and a physician. In his absence, Mohamed Said Pasha, Minister of Justice and Education, is acting Premier, and Ahmed Pasha Ziwa, the President of the Senate, is Acting Minister of Foreign Affairs.

The British House of Lords debated on July 23 the question of maintaining a British garrison in Egypt. Strong sentiment was manifested against reducing the protection of the Suez Canal. In general, however, the requests of the Government representative, Lord Parmoor, that nothing be said to prejudice the negotiations which were about to be begun, were observed.

Upon trial of the case of the newspaper *Al Siassa*, which was temporarily suspended in June on the charge of libeling the Parliament, the proprietor

and one of the writers concerned were acquitted; the actor was found guilty and was fined \$150, and required to pay 5 cents damages to the Parliament. The basis of conviction was not the fact that Parliament had been criticized, but that the language used was violent and unbecoming. The Parliament itself, a few days after this decision, extended further the freedom of popular action by voting to abolish the law which regulates demonstrations and public meetings. The Government had received no notice of this proposed vote, and in spite of the fact that Zaghlul's party had criticized the defunct law before they came to power, announcement was made that a somewhat less severe restrictive measure will later be introduced.

Two financial questions have been brought up recently in which Egypt seeks to take advantage of her theoretical independence to lighten her burdens. In the first place, when the British occupied Egypt in 1882 they affirmed that the presence of British troops was necessary for the peace and order of the country and required the payment of \$20 per man per month. Various changes in the sum total exacted were made; the amount has remained fixed since 1906 at \$750,000 per year. The Egyptian Government declined to pay the half yearly instalment which fell due on June 25, 1924. In the second place, from the time of the conquest of Egypt by Turkey, in 1517, considerable sums of money were sent from Cairo to Constantinople under the name of tribute. In the nineteenth century, as Egypt became autonomous, the amount to be paid was regularized. In 1866 "the Egyptian Tribute" was fixed at 765,000 Turkish pounds, which amounts in gold value to \$3,366,000. The Turkish Government pledged this payment as security for loans in 1871 and 1877, which were converted into new forms in 1891 and 1894. By these arrangements the entire amount of "the Egyptian Tribute"

became payable to European holders of Turkish bonds. The Finance Committee of the Chamber of Deputies lately reported that since Egypt was no longer connected with Turkey the liability to tribute had ceased to exist. While the committee claimed that none should be paid after Nov. 5, 1919, it might be argued that Egypt would not become entirely dissociated from Turkey until the final ratification of the Treaty of Lausanne. Zaghlul Pasha announced that Egypt would pay the instalment due on July 12, and would deposit the remainder due during 1924 in the National Bank of Egypt, and that no further payment would be made. If the creditors of Turkey should not be satisfied with this arrangement, the matter could be settled by a conference or by The Hague Court. In reply to a question in the House of Commons on July 16, it was affirmed that the British Government "has never accepted the validity of any suggestion that Egypt is not under the obligation to continue to meet the service of these loans."

The dam which is under construction in the Blue Nile at Sannar in the Sudan was raised to a safe height before the beginning of the July floods. The work at Sannar began in December, 1922, and is expected to be finished in July, 1925. The dam rises 120 feet above the river bed and is one and seven-eighths miles long. It will contain 550,000 yards of masonry, weighing about 1,000,000 tons. The water of the Blue Nile will be backed up fifty miles in a reservoir that will hold 140,000,000,000 gallons; 1,000 miles of canals will be supplied with water for the irrigation of 300,000 feddans, or acres. It is proposed that one-third of the irrigated area be devoted each year to the growth of cotton and one-third to green crops, while the remaining one-third remains fallow. Nineteen thousand workmen have been employed upon the dam. The granite for the masonry is brought from a hill thirty-five miles away.

Palestine

THE High Commissioner Sir Herbert Samuel, delivered an address on July 24 to a committee of the World Zionist Organization in session in London. He affirmed that substantial progress had been made in the building up of Palestine. "Palestine may become the industrial centre of the Middle East within our generation." Immigration had been on a smaller scale than was desired, but had recently shown an important increase. In the last two years work had been going on under more tranquil conditions.

Dr. Weizmann, President of the World Zionist Organization, expressed optimistic views as regards the future of the Jewish national homeland. He praised the generosity of American Jews, which he said could bring about the upbuilding of Palestine within twenty-five years. American Jews were to have a 40 per cent. representation among the delegates in the Jewish Agency in Palestine.

A new Peasant Party has been organized, with a platform of silence on the Zionist question and the British mandate, while aiming to improve the status of agriculture, educate the peasants and relieve them from excessive taxation. The Legislative Constitution is approved. This party is somewhat inconsistently started by Arab landowners in the Hebron district. It is opposed by the Arab Executive, the National Party and the Arab press.

The proposed seventh Arab Congress is said to have been postponed indefinitely, awaiting the further progress of the Anglo-Hedjazian treaty. The Arabs are proposing a less noisy but more effective program. They consider appealing less to the outside world and endeavoring to improve the conditions of the Arab citizens of Palestine. Though they do not seem ready to co-operate actively with the British Administration, they are prepared to present constructive criticism in a friendly way. The Moslem Christian Association has protested against the present form of

the proposed Anglo-Hedjazian treaty, on the ground of its not providing for the independence of Palestine.

The murder on July 5 of Dr. Jacob De Haan is said in some quarters to have been a political crime committed by Zionist enthusiasts. As correspondent of The London Daily Express he had become very unpopular with the administration, the local Zionist organization, and the Jews of Palestine generally. Two years ago he headed a deputation which told Lord Northcliffe that they, speaking in the name of orthodox Jewry, protested against Zionism. He was about to head a delegation of orthodox Jews who were to proceed to England for the supposed purpose of opposing the Zionist policy. He was accused of having in his correspondence distorted events so as to make Palestine appear to be filled with dissatisfaction, anarchy, and oppression, during a period of remarkable peace and quiet.

Relations between Russia and Palestine have been reopening in two different ways. The Metropolitan of Kieff visited Palestine in June to regulate the affairs of the Church of Russia in the Holy Land. Before 1914, Russia had a distinctly visible foothold in the country in the conspicuous monasteries, churches, and hostels for pilgrims. Government funds were used to assist numerous Russians to visit the Holy Land on pilgrimage. As Russia moves slowly back to normal conditions no doubt this deep-rooted practice will be resumed. On the other hand, the first direct steamer from Odessa to Palestine since 1914 arrived on July 15 with 171 Jewish emigrants on board. Among them were certain Zionists who had been expelled from Soviet Russia. It is interesting to notice as a comment on current conditions, that forty-three of these emigrants, not having secured the proper visas, were not permitted to enter the Promised Land, but were required to return to Russia.

The increasing modernization of Palestine is illustrated by the fact that the motor car and bus drivers of thirty-two lines now operating between the various

towns and Jewish colonies have gone on strike. The cause was the high license fees and customs duties on gasoline and the like which were demanded by the Government. The Government was accused of heaping burdens upon motor traffic in order to divert travel to the Government railroads.

Arabia

AT a conference of Arab notables held recently in Mecca the claim of King Hussein to the Caliphate was given new support. A proclamation to the Moslem world was issued, declaring that King Hussein, as ruler of the Hedjaz, was the most fit candidate for the Caliphate, because of the fact that the Hedjaz was the only Moslem country which enjoyed full independence and which properly observed all the laws of Allah and the Prophet Mohammed.

The general quiet in Arabian countries is indicated by the departure of both Sir Herbert Samuel and Sir Henry Dobbs, High Commissioners respectively for Palestine and Iraq, on leave to spend the Summer in England; at the same time the Emir Abdullah has left Transjordan on a pilgrimage to Mecca. In all three cases there can be little doubt that active political conferences will be held with superior authorities.

The question of national flags in the Arab countries which it is proposed to bring into a confederation is in process of being solved by the use of stars. All the flags will have as a background the colors used by the Hedjaz, which is accounted the parent State. No star will be placed upon the Hedjazian flag. Syria will have one star, Iraq two and Palestine three. The order is determined by the date at which complete independence is expected to be achieved.

Iraq

THE acceptance by the Constituent Assembly of the Anglo-Iraqian treaty, which is dealt with in an article

on Pages 981-986 of this magazine, drew from the British Colonial Secretary, Mr. J. H. Thomas, a statement to the effect that the British Government did not consider itself bound by the restrictions mentioned in the resolutions adopted by the Iraq Assembly, particularly that which proposed to protect the Province of Mosul in its entirety.

The Constituent Assembly continues to work quietly at its task of framing the new Constitution. The principle of primogeniture has been retained as the method of royal succession. Certain Sheiks failed to force through an amendment which would guarantee their positions as heads of their tribes and hereditary landowners. An effort failed to insert a clause which would require universal military service. The official language of Jews in Iraq is declared to be Arabic: "Hebrew is only the religious language used for prayers and studied by the little children in their schools."

It was announced early in July in reply to a question in the House of Commons that the Royal Air Force in Iraq had been used during the first five months of 1924 to drop bombs on only five villages. No casualties occurred among the air forces and none were reported among the natives. In four of these cases two days' notice had been given. No notice was given in the fifth case because it was punishment for a tribal attack on the native police, of whom one had been killed and three wounded. Such action on the part of the air force is claimed to be necessary to discourage raids of Arab tribes. Recently a frontier tribe is alleged to have killed 146 men and 127 women in a single raid.

The Iraqi cavalry with Kurdish levies reoccupied the town of Suleimanieh about July 15. In 1922 Sheik Mahmud, a Kurdish chieftain, declared the independence of Kurdistan under himself, and made Suleimanieh his capital. The territory under his authority has been reduced gradually, until now, with the occupation of his capital.

he is driven out as a wanderer accompanied only by a small following.

Drought, locusts and grasshoppers so injured the cereal crop in the Mosul area during the late Spring that prices rose 100 per cent.

Persia

THE American Vice Consul at Teheran, Major Robert Imbrie, was killed by a mob on July 18. At the same time a companion, Melin Seymour, was badly beaten. An immediate warning was sent by the Department of State to the Persian Government, followed on July 25 by a vigorous note. The Persian Government replied on July 29. The following day the American Minister at Teheran, Joseph S. Kornfeld, telegraphed that Teheran was under martial law and perfectly tranquil.

Several weeks previously the news was spread abroad in the Persian capital that a miracle had been wrought beside a fountain or well which was sacred to the memory of a Shiah saint. A man who had dared to utter there the name of the Bahaist leader, Abbas Effendi, had been suddenly stricken with blindness. This apparent evidence of the living unseen caused the fountain to be frequented by great numbers of Persians, whose excitement was rising at the approach of the sacred month of Moharrem. After a time it was reported that the well had been poisoned by Bahaists. Much greater throngs visited the place. Such was the state of affairs when at about 11 A. M. on July 18 Major Imbrie and his companion drew near the crowd. It is said that, in spite of warnings based upon the presence of Persian women in the throng, Major Imbrie lifted a camera above his head and attempted to take a picture. Friends of his say, however, that he had previously characterized an attempt to photograph a Moslem crowd religiously excited as both impolite and dangerous. However this may be, the crowd turned toward the Americans, shouting that they were Bahaists and

began throwing stones. They retreated to their carriage and drove rapidly away. Pursued and halted, it is said by a man on a motorcycle, in front of the barracks of the Cossack Brigade, they were pulled out of the carriage, though they resisted vigorously. Major Imbrie was struck on the head by a sword and fell unconscious. As he lay helpless his jaw was broken by a stone and he received other wounds. It appears that at this time the police took some action, during which three or four of them were injured by the crowd. The two Americans were again put into a carriage and taken to a hospital. The mob followed and continued to beat them. It is said that Major Imbrie received more than forty wounds. He succumbed at 3 P. M. Mr. Seymour was seriously injured, but was expected to survive.

The foreign residents of the Persian capital, and in particular the consular and diplomatic representatives, became alarmed for the general safety of foreigners. The Government took action under martial law to keep the city quiet. Many arrests were made. No further harm was reported, except that a Persian youth was said to have insulted Mrs. Imbrie some days later by pulling off her veil and throwing small stones at her.

The note from the State Department set forth that immediately after its learning of the circumstances it had advised the Persian Government that adequate reparation would be expected, with prompt punishment of the guilty persons. It was affirmed that further investigation showed the assault to have been wholly unjustified and that the police authorities had made no adequate effort to protect the Americans, but that there appeared evidence that soldiers had taken part in the attack (no one except a soldier could have given Major Imbrie the sword wound on his head). The note affirmed "no wish to offend a friendly Government or to require punitive damages," but "full reparation should be made, * * * punishment should be meted out to the guilty. * * *

assurances [should] be given and enforced of adequate protection for the lives of American citizens." It was further stipulated that redress should be provided for the wife of Vice Consul Imbrie and that the Persian Government should meet the expenses incurred in sending a man-of-war to receive his body, which should be duly escorted and honored. Reservation was made of the possibility of further requests, and a breaking of diplomatic relations was threatened unless Persia could guarantee the protection of American representatives.

The Persian reply expressed great chagrin and depression, and stated that extreme efforts were being made in pursuing and punishing the guilty persons. Adequate honors were promised for the body of Major Imbrie. Emphatic assurance was given of the intention to respect international law and treaties. The Persians found the American note mild rather than severe, bearing in mind the extent of provocation and the forcible action of some European Governments in similar cases.

Meantime, representatives of the other powers had drawn up a note, which was presented to the Persian Government by the Turkish Ambassador. Horror was expressed at the assassination of the American Consul, and the Persian Government was blamed because the police had failed to fire a shot in his defense. Protection was requested for all foreigners. This note also the Persian Government answered properly. The Parliament in an open session expressed great sorrow and urged the Government to pursue the guilty relentlessly. The Government forbade the press to publish anti-foreign articles.

Though suggestions have been made that Major Imbrie was rash, that oil interests were involved, and that Russian or British agents incited the crowd, it appears that there was no personal element involved except the accidental appearance of the Americans among a religiously excited crowd on their holy day, Friday. The Bahai

sect, which came originally from Persia, is regarded as heretical. The Persian populace becomes excited every year when the time draws near which commemorates the death of Hessain, son of Ali and grandson of the Prophet Mohammed. At the present time several other matters contribute to increase popular disturbance. The influence of Great Britain and Russia is being exerted to secure advantages and defeat each other's aims. An important direction of this rivalry is determined by the controversy over oil rights. American forces also are involved in the struggle between the Sinclair and Standard Oil Companies. After the abortive effort a few months ago to set up a republic in place of the monarchy, a number of clergymen telegraphed to the Shah, who was living in practical exile in Europe, to return. The influential Prime Minister, Riza Khan, lately requested the Parliament to appoint a committee of twenty-four to cooperate with his Cabinet in improving the situation. Criticism was offered in the press against the American advisers, to the effect that while they were useful in the conduct of affairs under existing financial methods, they were not capable of instituting extensive salutary improvements. The Parliament replied to this by voting the engagement of four more American experts. Numerous bitter articles have appeared in the newspapers of late directed against foreigners, especially the British.

In short, a serious struggle is going on in Persia between progressive and conservative elements. Riza Khan has now been in power for a year. For a long time before his accession ministries had been changing every three months. The Persians have been struggling hard for twenty years to maintain their independence of foreign influence, to preserve their distinctive institutions intact, and yet to establish order and good government and to introduce modern products and conveniences. Although the American advisers are in no sense representative of the United States Government, being

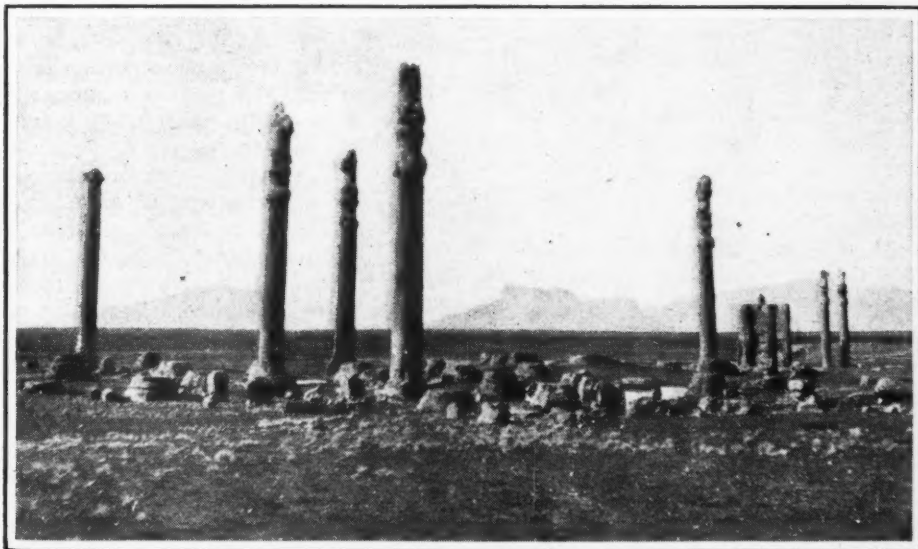
simply American private citizens employed to assist Persia, nevertheless they stand for progress and the hope of Persian recovery.

Persia is a remarkable mixture of knowledge and superstition, haughtiness and servility, fanaticism and dishonesty, intense national pride and resistance to measures which will modernize the country. The royal family and the aristocratic few from whom Ministers of State have ordinarily been drawn have more often than not been conspicuously lacking in those qualities which might be expected to save their country from rapid decadence and foreign domination. A Persian in office is said not to work more than three hours a day, and to occupy much of that time with tea drinking and polite but ineffective conversation. The small middle classes take only occasional interest in politics, and are easily stirred up by cunning leaders to reactionary and sometimes violent measures. The poorer classes are very ignorant and are subject to great incitement from the religious group, who, though sometimes in favor of progress, are exceedingly jealous of anything that might impair their influ-

ence. The Persians are under ordinary conditions very polite and considerate. Persian women are carefully secluded, so that society exists in two distinctive halves. In the provinces travel is uncomfortable and often unpleasant and dangerous. Too many citizens turn easily into bandits. But as a whole the people are possessed of many sturdy and valuable qualities. What they need most is to be provided with a new set of institutions, not precisely Western, but with appropriate adaptations from Western models.

The Government has lately defeated certain revolting tribes in Luristan. In the military operations they have made good use of the airplanes recently received.

During the year which ended in March, 1924, Persian imports amounted to about \$56,000,000, while the exports were about \$62,000,000. This represents an increase in foreign trade of about \$9,000,000, and it shows that the Persians are not increasing their indebtedness to the outside world. The British-controlled Imperial Bank of Persia is prospering. Its charter has been renewed until the year 1949.



Old Persepolis, the ruined city of Southern Persia

The Far East

By PAYSON J. TREAT,
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China

IN spite of its political weakness and instability the Peking Government has been able to oppose foreign demands and to extend its control over foreigners to a surprising extent.

The indemnity demanded for the Lincheng bandit raid of May 6, 1923, has not been paid. Attempts to protect foreign interests in the Chinese Eastern Railway have been waved aside. In spite of diplomatic protests against the new trade-mark law, foreign firms have begun to request registration of their trade-marks under the new system. The process of extending Chinese municipal law to foreigners continues. The Germans and Austrians lost their extraterritorial privileges during the war and in subsequent treaties; the Russians after the fall of the Czarist Government, and they have abandoned the right in their new treaty; at present China has refused to recognize the claim of Chileans to extraterritorial privileges; and an interesting case involving some American mission property at Soochow is now pending in the Chinese courts, the contention being that missionary property (and perhaps the missionaries themselves) are subject to Chinese jurisdiction. The basis of the latter contention is that Christian missions have a treaty right to hold property in the interior, a right denied to other foreigners, and, argue the Chinese, this renders them subject to Chinese control.

The siege of Kweilin, Kwangsi, which began on April 11, was still proceeding in the middle of July. The city was held by the troops of Marshal Lu Yung-ting, the "Pacifier of Kwangsi," while General Shen Hung-ying, who had recently deserted to Sun Yat-Sen's party, was trying to take it. During the fighting the Rev. Joseph Cunningham,

an American missionary, was killed by a stray bullet. From time to time a few of the British and American missionaries managed to escape, and finally all but three, who decided to remain in the city, were allowed to pass through the lines. Peace delegates from General Wu Pei-fu, the northern war-lord, arrived in June and tried to arrange a compromise between the opposing factions. The Rev. E. H. Carne, the last of the four missionaries captured by bandits in May, while on their way to relieve the missionaries in Kweilin, was released in July on payment of £500, subscribed by Chinese merchants.

Canton was the scene of a very interesting development. Most of the foreigners there, except the missionaries, live on the Island of Shameen, which is an Anglo-French concession. Soon after the bomb outrage on June 19, the two Consuls announced that Chinese employes on the island, leaving or entering the quarter after 9 A. M., must possess permits with photographs attached. This the Chinese employes resented deeply, and they were supported by labor leaders in Canton. A general strike was inaugurated on the evening of July 15, first of domestic servants and office workers, then of the Chinese police employed in the French concession. It was reported that the strike might extend to stevedores and other laborers. The United States Government has warned the Canton authorities that they will be held responsible for the protection of American lives and property. It goes without saying that the Chinese possess a powerful weapon in the general strike. The success of the shipping strike at Hongkong in 1922 demonstrated that. Cooperation between Chinese and foreigners is essential for the commercial success as well as the physical comfort of the latter.

This weapon has also been used by the Chinese to secure redress of their own grievances. The arbitrary taxation imposed by Sun Yat-Sen's Government in Canton has been defeated by strikes of the victims. A new tax on shipping resulted in the tying up of all native craft until the objectionable levy was removed. In addition, the Chinese merchants have enrolled several thousand volunteers for the specific purpose of protecting the business interests of Canton against governmental annoyances.

Heavy Summer rains have caused floods in the delta district around Canton, where the movement of supplies to the victims is hampered by the activities of river pirates; around Foochow, Tientsin, and at Kalgan.

Swedish missionaries have been expelled from Urga, Mongolia, where the officials are said to be of pro-Russian and therefore anti-Christian sympathies. Two American missionaries were wounded while trying to make peace between hostile military factions at Shenchowfu, Hunan, on June 2.

Among the first results of the recent Chinese-Russian treaty are the appointment of a Russian Ambassador to Peking, which has created certain problems in diplomatic circles there; the controversy over the return of the Russian legation in Peking to the new Ambassador; the protest of the Archbishop of the Russian Orthodox Mission against the turning over of its property to the Soviet representative; and the impasse at Shanghai, where 600 "Whites" are holding three Russian refugee ships

in spite of the demands of Ambassador Karakhan that China turn them over to the Soviet. A Chinese-German agreement is believed to have been signed, but the terms are not available.

A contract was signed on July 19 for the financing by Belgian and Chinese bankers, of an extension of the Lunghai railway from Chenchow, Honan Province, to Sianfu, Shensi Province.

The National Association for the Advancement of Education met at the National Southeastern University, Nanking, from July 3 to 9.



Wide World

VISCOUNT T. KATO
Prime Minister of Japan in succession to Kiyoura

The office of taoyin was abolished on July 1. This was the republican version of the old office of taotai, which figures so frequently in the story of foreign intercourse with China. The taotai was an inspector, or circuit officer, usually the inspector of several districts or prefectures, and often the inspector in charge of some special duty, such as the salt and grain revenue, river control, education, postal routes.

The foreign commerce of China for 1923 showed a slight increase over 1922. The increase in customs receipts was due to the higher tariff rates in effect during the latter year. American trade showed a gain of 26 per cent.

Japan

THE bills for revising the nationality law and for imposing luxury taxes on imports were passed by the Imperial Diet on July 15 and 17, respectively. On the latter day both Houses passed the supplementary financial estimate of 265,000,000 yen for the coming fiscal year.

The drafting of a reply to Secretary Hughes's note on the immigration question was postponed until after the return of Ambassador Hanihara from Washington. The Government was unwilling to consider the American statement as final, nor could it well do so in view of the resolutions passed by both Houses of the Diet.

Renewed interest has been shown in the settlement of outstanding differences with Soviet Russia. Viscount Kato, the Prime Minister, has long been favorable to a renewal of friendly relations. On July 24 the Cabinet was reported to have adopted a policy presented by Baron Shidehara, Minister of Foreign Affairs, along the following lines: Russia should apologize verbally for the Nikolaievsk massacre and should grant long-time concessions to Japanese interests for mining and lumbering in Northern Sakhalin, but that claims for similar concessions in Siberia should

be waived, that a joint Russo-Japanese corporation should be given the right to exploit the oil resources of Northern Sakhalin; that the provisions of the Portsmouth Treaty, which ended the Russo-Japanese War, should be retained with a provision extending Japan's fishing rights in Siberian waters, and the question of payment of debts contracted by the Czarist régime should be left for settlement after conferences have been held with Great Britain and Italy. On these terms the Japanese military occupation of Northern Sakhalin would cease. Kenkichi Yoshizawa, Japanese Minister to China, and L. M. Karakhan, Russian Ambassador to China, resumed negotiations in Peking on Aug. 7.

The material prosperity of Korea is shown by the increase of exports by 20 per cent. in 1923, while imports increased only 4 per cent. The total trade amounted to \$262,900,000. Heavy rains in July caused floods along the west coast, with much loss of property and some casualties.

In order to prepare for the introduction of the jury system a party of Japanese jurists has been studying the American judicial system before going to Europe. The act providing for this great change in Japanese procedure was passed in March, 1923, but no date was fixed for its operation.

Charged with a conspiracy to assassinate Prince Tokugawa and other peers, twenty alleged members of the Eta (outcast) class were arrested on July 10.

A committee representing three of the patriotic societies which have been agitating against the American exclusion law demanded the immediate cancellation of a loan issued in America by the Daido Electric Company.

It is reported that the Rockefeller Foundation has given \$1,000,000 for the restoration of Tokyo Imperial University, which lost its valuable library and many buildings during the earthquake and fire of 1923.

International Events

By ROBERT McELROY

Edwards Professor of American History, Princeton University.

A PART from the Interallied Conference held in London to settle the reparations problem, which is dealt with fully elsewhere in this magazine, the most important international event of the month has been the conclusion of a general treaty and a commercial agreement between the British and Russian Governments. These two pacts, which required four months' negotiation to bring about, and which were signed at the Foreign Office in London on Aug. 8, were summarized in a special cable to The New York Times as follows:

The first chapter of the general treaty deals with the existing treaties, some of which are recognized as obsolete and inoperative, while others are regarded as still in force.

The second chapter solely concerns fisheries in waters contiguous to the northern coast of the Soviet Union. The three-mile limit is recognized to the extent that "citizens of the Soviet Union shall enjoy exclusive right of fishery within the distance of three miles from low watermark along the coast of the territory of the Union, as well as of the islands dependent thereon," but also in waters in the White Sea that lie to the southward of parallel 67 degrees 40 minutes north latitude.

The most important chapter is the third, which deals with claims and the conditional promise of a loan. The Soviet Government does not withdraw the decree by which in January, 1918, it repudiated the debts of the Russian Government. It declares, however, that "by way of exception they will satisfy" in the conditions prescribed in the present treaty the claims of British holders of loans issued or taken over or guaranteed by the former Imperial Russian Government or by the municipalities or towns in the territory now included in the Union payable in foreign, non-Russian currency.

At the same time the British Government recognizes that the financial and economic position of the Union renders impracticable full satisfaction of these claims. The Soviet Government agrees to meet claims "other than holdings which were acquired by purchase since March 16, 1921, and were in other than British ownership on that date." There will be negotiations between parties concerned, then the terms will be subject of agreement, provided the British Government is satisfied that the terms have been accepted by the holders "of not less than one-half of capital values of British holdings in loans."

All claims, counter-claims, debts and loans relating to the period between the

beginning of the war in August, 1914, and de jure recognition of the Bolshevik Government in February of this year are reserved or put into cold storage. This includes the Russian war debt, the Bolshevik intervention claims and private claims for damages.

On this follows an obscure clause which refers to "the admitted preponderance of claims of British nationals." During these ten years and to ultimate payment by the Soviet Government of a lump sum for distribution among the claimants a joint commission shall assess these particular claims.

Article 10 deals with the important question of compensation to British nationals for property nationalized or canceled by Soviet decrees. The Soviet Government promises to negotiate with British owners. A commission will assess the validity and amount of the claims. Members of the commission may present separate reports. Then finally, when these negotiations are concluded and the various commissions have come to agreement, results of the agreements shall be incorporated in a treaty. When this treaty is signed the British Government "will recommend Parliament to enable them to guarantee interest and sinking fund of a loan to be issued" by the Soviet Government, but the treaty will not come into force until the loan is guaranteed.

It is important to note that provisions of the whole of this chapter on claims and loans are described in Article 13 as "a single and indivisible unit."

The commercial treaty confers exceptional privileges on the Soviet Government and their representatives in Great Britain. The British Government recognizes the Soviet Government's monopoly of foreign trade and grants not merely to their Embassy but to their trade delegation diplomatic privileges and promises to the trade delegation extra-territorial rights. Immunity is thus secured to various buildings now occupied by the trade delegation in London and it may be extended to others that they may take over in the future.

A curious clause in the important Article 2 declares that the Soviet Government "assumes responsibility" for transactions of the Soviet trade representative and agrees these transactions shall be subject to British laws and courts, yet "in view of the responsibility of these transactions which is assumed by the Government of the Union neither it nor its representatives will be called upon to give security for complying with orders of courts." British merchants will thus have to deal in the case of the Soviet Government with a trade enjoying diplomatic immunity.

The commercial treaty contains most-favored-nation clauses. The nationals of each country resident in the other will be subject to national treatment.

Finally, the Soviet Government reserves to itself a monopoly of the Russian coastal trade, though in the Black Sea it has already made an exception in favor of Italy. It also registers in a supplementary declaration its claim to the Rus-

sian Navy and to all ships of the Russian commercial fleet in whosoever's hands these may now be.

ATTITUDE TOWARD RUSSIA

At the close of the Little Entente Conference on July 12 a statement was issued declaring that the Entente's Foreign Ministers had found themselves unanimous in their desire to have Germany enter the League and in their general attitude toward the Russian Soviet. That attitude, though friendly, holds recognition of Russia to be a question for each nation rather than for the Entente itself. Echoing that statement, the Rumanian Minister declared "theoretically Rumania is ready to recognize the Soviets, but this is practically impossible so long as Russia refuses to recognize our present frontiers." The Yugoslav Minister of Foreign Affairs, M. Ninichich, also declared that his country favored the recognition of Soviet Russia, but would not tolerate Bolshevik propaganda therein.

Premier Herriot of France is finding that France too is only "theoretically ready to recognize the Soviets." The parties of the Right explain the failure of the Herriot Government to recognize Russia, as the Left promised during the recent campaign, by the fact that there exists a strong opposition to recognition until assurance is received that Russian securities to the amount of over 20,000,000,000 gold francs held in France will be paid. Holders of Russian securities have been active in opposition to recognition, not only at the Foreign Office but even in the lobbies of Parliament, demanding first safety for their holdings and then recognition.

The Soviets, on their part, are bitter in denunciation not only of Herriot, who has failed to grant recognition, but also of MacDonald, who has granted it. Zinoviev has much to say about MacDonald's infamy, and denounces the British Labor Party in unmeasured terms, growing increasingly picturesque as he characterizes Thomas Griffith and Allan Parkinson as

"clothed in embroidered uniforms, with fools' caps and plumes, and bearing staves higher than their foreheads, with broad, idiotic, conceited grins—for are they not Treasurer and Controller of the King's Household!"

China too is experiencing difficulties from questions which it would have been the part of wisdom to settle before recognition of the Soviets. When it was rumored, early in July, that China was on the point of turning over to Russia the property of the former Russian Government in the Legation Quarter of Peking, the diplomatic corps of the other powers dropped a note, dated July 12, and addressed to the Chinese Minister of Foreign Affairs, in which they warned China that the transfer must not be made until the powers were assured that Russia would abide by the arrangements now in existence for the maintenance of the Legation Quarter. It declared that, though the powers did not wish to interfere in the relations between the Chinese and the Russian Governments, they must insist that undertakings entered into with them, individually or collectively by the Chinese Government, must neither be weakened nor infringed. The note also demanded that the eight Ministers representing the treaty powers in Peking be informed of the name of the diplomatic officials accredited by Russia to the Chinese Government, and requested the Chinese Minister of Foreign Affairs to ask that representative to put himself into communication with them, as under the treaty of 1901 the Foreign Diplomatic and Consular Corps of Peking enjoy all jurisdiction over the region in which the Legation and Consular buildings stand.

A few days after the reception of this note Dr. V. K. Wellington Koo, Chinese Foreign Minister, let it be known that L. M. Karakhan, the negotiator of the Chinese-Russian agreement, had been named not Minister but Ambassador by the Soviet Government, and suggested that other nations follow Russia's example by raising their Ministers to Ambassadors. The United States

curtly declared that she would make no such change, as it would be interpreted as an indication that she was satisfied with conditions in China. Great Britain and France followed suit, but Japan announced that she would follow Russia's example and put an Ambassador in Peking.

The American State Department and the Chancelleries of Europe are engaged in carefully studying the text of the agreement between China and Russia [printed on page 960 of this magazine] and the supplementary agreement for the management of the Chinese Eastern Railway, suspicious that China has granted the Soviets a special sphere of influence in disregard of the work of the Washington Conference. Indeed, the Governments most interested, including the United States, have already addressed protests to the Chinese Foreign Office.

The Japanese negotiations looking toward the recognition of the Soviet Republic, which had been suspended for several weeks, were resumed toward the end of July, L. M. Karakhan acting for Russia and M. Yoshizawa for Japan.

The most pressing present problem between Russia and Japan is oil. Russia, Japan and the Sinclair Oil Company are playing a three-cornered game for the rich oil fields of Sakhalin Island. Russia insists that Japan evacuate the northern or Russian half of the island; Japan insists upon retaining the oil priority of the district where they have located rich deposits of oil, and the Sinclair Company insists that this the difficulties involved in the Russo-Japanese negotiations concerning the recognition of the Soviet Republic.

A possible new source of delay and friction is suggested by a Washington dispatch of July 23, which declares: "At a conference held by the Labor and Agricultural Government of Russia at

Moscow it was resolved that Korean residents in Russian territory should be permitted to establish their own republican Government and to conduct their national affairs under that Government." As about 2,000,000 Koreans have already left their own country for Siberia and Manchuria, driven out by the too strong hand of Japanese masters, Japan may be expected to object to so generous a hospitality on the part of a neighboring State with lands to settle.

In general Russia has been disappointed in the results which have followed recognition by Germany, Italy, Great Britain and a number of lesser powers, and she has an eye open to the main chance, which may come from sources other than international social recognition. She feels, and with much justice, that the stability of her system has now been demonstrated, and does not depend upon the attitude of foreign and especially European States. It is significant that she keeps her ablest diplomats not in the capitals of Europe, but in the ancient city of Peking, where Karakhan seems to be seeking to draw Japan and Germany into a coalition with China and Russia, a feat which, if accomplished, would alter the whole aspect of international relations. Karakhan showed his insight into Chinese conditions by a deliberate campaign to win the friendship of the Tuchuns, or Military Provincial Governors, before entering upon the national negotiations which brought Chinese recognition of his country in May.

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

America's refusal of the League of Nations Compact of Mutual Assistance, on the ground that she is not in the League, and for other reasons, has been followed by refusals from Great Britain and Canada. Each has filed with the League opinions regarding the plan for the gradual reduction of world armaments which that compact presents, and the British opinion suggests another international conference to discuss the

question of disarmament, proposing for its consideration the establishment of demilitarized zones and urging more emphasis upon the World Court of International Justice. Premier MacDonald, in commenting upon the League's provisional draft treaty, declared; "It is the considered opinion of the British naval staff that a treaty such as the one proposed will, if properly carried out, necessitate an increase in the British naval forces, and it is our belief that the position will be the same for other countries." The French reaction was quite different, and the French press freely criticized the British Premier for what they considered a characteristically selfish attitude on the part of Great Britain. They recalled the fact that the "Treaty of Mutual Guarantees," as it is called, was really the work of Viscount Cecil. They pointed out the fact that it proposed in principal disarmament only after proper assurance against attack and declared that the British attitude was a grave attack on the Covenant of the League of Nations. With this view many of the British Opposition newspapers agree. The Unionist Morning Post declares that Premier MacDonald is "torpedoing the League of Nations"; the Asquithian Westminster Gazette accuses him of building "five unnecessary cruisers," while he "cannot bear the thought of building them to increase our common security * * * He finds it imperative to declare this attitude at the moment when the conference [of London] is asking France to sacrifice some of the apparatus which she deems necessary for her security." The refusal also of Russia and Germany and the practical certainty of rejection by Italy and Japan make it quite clear that the Treaty of Mutual Assistance must be dropped.

The League's Commission on the Reduction of Armaments on July 12 formulated the principles for an eventual international convention for na-

tional Control of the Private Manufacture of arms and munitions. It suggested that national control be employed for the complete suppression of clandestine manufacture, thus supplementing the provisions of the proposed convention for the regulation of the international traffic. The commission, however, made it quite clear that the rights of Governments to purchase necessary war materials, either from private manufactories or from national arms factories, should not be contravened.

The League's Committee on Intellectual Cooperation decided at a meeting at Geneva on July 29 that the time was ripe for the publication of a catalogue of scientific films, and also for the convening of a special international motion-picture congress to study the scientific, artistic and educational interests involved in the development of the film art. It also resolved to gather documents on the educational organization of the different countries and to encourage the exchange among them of professors and students. A special committee to stimulate the work of the bodies arranging for such exchanges was formed consisting of Dr. H. A. Lorentz of Holland, President; Professor Henri Bergson of France, Professor Gilbert Murray of England, Dr. Inaso Nitobe of Japan and Dr. Vernon C. Kellogg, Secretary of the National Research Council of the United States. The commission received a letter from Senator Ciraolo, stating that the Italian Red Cross had placed at its disposal 100,000 lire for the relief of the Russian intellectuals.

According to a statement issued on July 19 by Sir Herbert Ames, Financial Director of the League, the "budget is now approximately \$4,500,000 a year. About 60 per cent. of this is for the expenses of the Secretariat and the special organizations attached to the Secretariat, 30 per cent. for the International Labor Office and about 8 per cent. for the World Court."

The Reparations Settlement

Continued from Page 899

Chicago Tribune correspondent labeled "ultimatum by Herriot." It declared, as a condition from which France could not recede, that the Germans should be summoned to the conference only to sign without discussion the protocol agreed upon by the Allies, or to the Reparation Commission upon the same conditions, if the conference should adjourn before their arrival. On July 21 the French and Belgian delegations demanded that they be allowed to retain a nucleus of their railway men in the Ruhr. The British met this demand by insisting that when the Dawes scheme was applied the railway administration should be handed over in its entirety to the Germans. As a result of these complications the committees continued their sessions; and the plenary session had to be deferred pending adjustments. Efforts were made to frame new formulas to meet the stubborn differences, but they proved difficult to find. Herriot and his French colleagues acted with the menacing figure of Poincaré ever before them. The bankers, while deeply sympathetic with the woes of the politicians, were conscious that vague generalities could never satisfy investors, who would be certain to demand a legally executed pledge for the establishment of the securities into which their money was to go.

Meanwhile another important member of President Coolidge's Cabinet had appeared unofficially, and as unofficially taken a hand in the proceedings through private meetings. On July 23 Andrew W. Mellon, the American Secretary of the Treasury, breakfasted with Premier MacDonald and later in the day conferred at 10 Downing Street with the British Premier, Thomas W. Lamont. Sir Montague Norman and Sir Robert Kindersley. The evening papers ventured the statement that he had made suggestions likely to be of great assistance, but no change followed; and Herriot, who had expected to retire to Paris, let it be known that

he had arranged to spend another ten days in London, although the French papers were demanding that he abandon the undignified position of a Premier of France engaging in controversy with private American citizens, and the French Parliament was intimating that it would let the Dawes plan die rather than accept the terms insisted upon by the New York bankers. So savage were the attacks upon the bankers' insistence upon guarantees which would make the loan salable that J. P. Morgan issued the following statement:

We have been requested by the allied Governments to advise as to what, in our opinion, are the necessary bases for the sale of German bonds to American investors. In response to that request we have given our advice. We have no desire, nor is it within our province, to make any political suggestions, much less to attempt to enforce any political views. It goes without saying that as bankers we should not ask the American investor to buy German bonds unless and until the Allies have, in their own time, in their own way and for their own reasons, determined upon a policy which will, in our opinion, give security to the bondholders.

TURN OF THE TIDE

On July 27 the diplomatic correspondent of The London Daily Telegraph wrote: "M. Herriot has agreed that the German Government, subject to the approval of the plenary conference, shall be invited to send its delegates to London forthwith, and that on such main issues as measures for restoring the financial and economic unity of Germany, or, in other words, the economic evacuation of the Ruhr, the German delegates shall enjoy the right of full discussion with the Allies." Premier Herriot, however, held firm upon the point that the evacuation of Hagen in the Ruhr by the French and Belgian troops should be made only after it became quite certain that the Dawes plan would make such evacuation safe. This announcement was taken to indicate a turn of the tide, and was declared to be the result of "conversations which M. Herriot and M. Clémentel had with Secretary Hughes and Secretary Mellon."

Premier Herriot's concessions, how-

ever, did not meet the conditions deemed by the bankers essential to the success of the loan, and on July 28, at a meeting of the experts prior to a plenary session, the debate between the French and the British representatives reached so dangerous a point of excitement that Colonel James A. Logan Jr., the American observer, offered a compromise. This compromise was so suggestive in character that the French delegates asked for twenty-four hours in which to draw up a formula which they felt would satisfy all parties. On July 30 it was announced that the French formula had been communicated to the meeting of Premiers and would be laid before the First Committee the following day. Regarding this plan a prominent correspondent wrote:

One of the principal features of the French plan is the establishment of a committee of three, of which an American must be one, to act as a sort of Grand Jury with regard to the question of default. If, for instance, France were to assert that Germany had defaulted, it would bring the matter before the Reparation Commission. If the commission decided unanimously that France was right, a default would be declared and there would be no reason for a resort to this new Arbitral Committee.

If France was voted down in the Reparation Commission, however, she could then renew her application before the Arbitral Committee. If she succeeded in persuading that body that default had occurred, the Arbitral Committee would refer the question back to the Reparation Commission, which could then take action by a majority vote.

It was soon known, however, that the French compromise proposal was insistent that the French and Belgian troops should not be withdrawn from Hagen until after the flotation of the German loan of \$2,000,000,000. On July 31 the French formula was laid before the committees and the experts. The day was spent in debate, criticism and the formulation of recommendations for the plenary session. There were many objections to specific features, but a general consensus of opinion that Herriot and his French colleagues had furnished a workable solution. On Aug. 2 full agreement was reached by the conference, the reports of the three committees being approved by the plenary session. The final report of the First Committee on the question of eventual defaults by Germany read:

It will be the duty of the Reparation Commission to come to a decision concerning any application that Germany be declared in default in any of the obligations contained either in the treaty as put into force on Jan. 10, 1920, or in the experts' plan dated April 9, 1924.

If, however, the decision of the Reparation Commission, granting or rejecting the application, has been taken by a majority, any member of the Reparation Commission who has participated in the vote may, within eight days from the date of said decision, appeal from that decision to the Arbitral Commission, composed of three impartial and independent persons, whose decision shall be final.

The members of the Arbitral Commission shall be appointed for five years by the Reparation Commission, deciding by unanimity, or failing such unanimity by the President for the time being of the Permanent Court of International Justice at The Hague.

The President of the Arbitral Commission shall be a citizen of the United States of America.

When the Reparation Commission shall come to a decision on points dealt with in the foregoing paragraph, an American citizen, appointed as provided below, shall take part in the discussions and shall vote as if he had been appointed in virtue of paragraph 2 of the present annex.

Paragraph 2 here referred to reads as follows:

The signatory Governments undertake, in accordance with the provisions of the experts' plan, not to take sanctions in regard to Germany unless a default within the meaning of Section 3 of Part 1 of the experts' report has been declared in the conditions laid down in foregoing paragraph 1.

In this case the signatory Governments, acting with the consciousness of joint trusteeship for the financial interests of themselves and of the persons who advance money upon the lines of said plan, will confer at once on the nature of sanctions to be applied, and on the method of their rapid and effective application.

The next recommendation of the committee was as follows:

If default by Germany is established, the Reparation Commission will forthwith give notice of such default to each of the interested powers and may make such recommendations as to action to be taken in consequence of such default as it may think necessary.

This was followed by two declarations which were the direct outcome of the bankers' representations regarding security of bondholders:

In order to secure service of the loan of \$200,000,000 gold marks, as contemplated by the Dawes report, and in order to facilitate the issue of that loan to the public, the allied powers declare that in case sanctions have to be applied in consequence of the default by Germany they will safeguard any specific securities which may be pledged to the service of the loan.

The allied powers further consider the service of the loan as entitled to absolute priority in relation to any resources of Germany on which a general lien may have been given to the loan, as well as in relation to any resources that may arise as a result of a plan of sanctions.

After these declarations came the following proviso:

Unless otherwise expressly stipulated in the above paragraphs, all the existing rights of signatory powers under the Treaty of Versailles are reserved.

THIRD COMMITTEE'S RESOLUTIONS

The Third Committee, which dealt with the question of the powers of the Transfer Committee proposed in the Dawes plan, not being able to reach final agreement upon the points of difference in the French and British proposals, decided to leave the decision in the hands of the chief delegates, who agreed subsequently to incorporate the French proposals. The resolutions of the committee as approved by the conference read as follows:

Resolution 1.—The Third Committee recommends that the German Government should be asked to give assurance:

A. That it recognizes that the Transfer Committee is free to employ the funds at its disposal in payment for deliveries on ordinary commercial conditions of any commodities and (or) services provided for in programs from time to time prescribed by the Reparation Commission after consultation with the Transfer Committee under the conditions of the experts' report, including in particular coal, coke and dyestuffs and any other commodities specially provided for in the treaty after the fulfillment of treaty obligations in regard to these commodities;

B. That it recognizes that the programs laid down by the Reparation Commission after consultation with the Transfer Committee for deliveries to be made under ordinary commercial conditions shall not be subject as regards the nature of the products to the limitations fixed by the treaty for deliveries which the Reparation Commission can demand from Germany thereunder;

C.—That it will facilitate the conclusion and execution of contracts under customary commercial conditions for such deliveries, passed in accordance with the experts' plan, and in particular that it will not take nor allow to be taken any measure which would result in deliveries in kind under the experts' plan being obtainable under ordinary commercial conditions.

D.—That in regard to limited number of natural products of Germany, in the sense of the experts' report, a list of which shall be drawn up by the Special Committee to be appointed under Resolution 2 below, if any allied Government has duly proved in accordance with the procedure to be fixed by the same committee (e. g., by arbitration) that owing to measures of hostile discrimination or of hostile obstruction on the part of the German Government or of German suppliers it has not been able to obtain on customary commercial conditions the delivery of any of these products up to such amount as is included in the program of the Reparation Commission, the German Government shall take necessary steps to insure delivery under conditions to be fixed by the same committee; the price of any such deliveries shall in the absence of agreement be settled by arbitration.

Resolution 2.—The committee recommends that the German Government should be asked to accept the establishment of a Special Committee, not exceeding six members and consisting of an equal number of allied and German representatives, with power, in the event of difference, to choose additional members of neutral nationality to be chosen by allied and German members in agreement or, in default of agreement, to be appointed by the Reparation Commission, which shall be charged

(1) To determine procedure for placing orders and conditions for carrying out deliveries in kind, so as to insure their satisfactory working, adhering as closely as possible to ordinary commercial usage.

(2) To examine the best means of rendering effective undertakings to be given by the German Government in accordance with paragraphs C and D of Resolution 1 by providing in particular for reference to the arbitrator of any disagreements which may arise with regard to this matter between interested parties, the decision of arbitrator being binding on such parties. The work of this committee shall not in any way delay the bringing into operation of the experts' plan and its decisions shall not interfere in any way with the powers of the Transfer Committee to be set up under that plan. These decisions shall accordingly require the approval of the Reparation Commission and of the Transfer Committee in so far as the latter is concerned, before they are brought into force. If the German Government agrees to this proposal the committee recommends that the Reparation Commission and the German Government should be requested to appoint the allied and German members respectively of the proposed committee.

Resolution 3.—The committee calls attention to the fact that under Section VI. of the Transfer Annex to the experts' report a schedule has to be agreed to between the Transfer Committee and the German Government defining the classes of property which can be purchased under the provisions of that paragraph, but that no provision is made for the settlement of any difference that may arise between the Transfer Committee and the German Government.

The committee recommends, therefore, that the German Government should be requested to agree that should such differences arise they may be referred at the request of either the German Government or Transfer Committee to an arbitrator, who, if the German Government so desires, shall be of neutral nationality, to be chosen by agreement between the two parties, or in default of agreement, to be nominated by the President for the time being of the Permanent Court of International Justice and the decision of the arbitrator so appointed shall be final.

Resolution 4 dealt with procedure for introduction of modifications in the experts' plan in the event of any interested Government, allied or German, considering that a defect existed in the working of the experts' plan in so far as it related to collection of German payments or the control of securities therefor, which could be remedied without affecting the substantial principles of that plan. The resolution provides further:

Any Government complaining of such de-

fect may submit the question to the Reparation Commission, which will transmit it forthwith for inquiry and advice to a committee consisting of the Agent General for reparation payments, the trustee or trustees for railway and industrial mortgage bonds, the railway commissioner, the bank commissioner and the commissioner of controlled revenues. This committee will as soon as possible transmit to the Reparation Commission either a unanimous report or majority and minority reports, including, if necessary, proposals for the removal of any defect to which attention may have been drawn.

For the purpose of considering any such report the Reparation Commission shall convoke the American member, who shall have right to vote. If the Reparation Commission arrives at a unanimous decision it shall invite the German Government to adhere to it, and if an agreement is reached with the German Government on the subject the necessary measures shall be carried into effect without delay. If the Reparation Commission is not unanimous, or if any decision it takes unanimously is not accepted by the German Government, any of the parties interested may submit the question to a committee of three independent and impartial experts, chosen by agreement between the Reparation Commission, deciding unanimously, and the German Government, or, in default of such agreement, by the President for the time being of the Permanent Court of International Justice at The Hague. The decision of this committee shall be final.

It is understood that this provision shall not apply to any question in regard to the disposition of funds paid to the account of the Agent General or to any other matter which falls solely within the competence of the Transfer Committee.

Resolution 5 dealt with what had been one of the knottiest points which the committee had to handle. It read as follows:

If the Transfer Committee is equally divided in regard to the question whether concerted financial manoeuvres have been set on foot, within the meaning of Section XVIII. of Annex VI. of the experts' report, the question shall be referred to an independent and impartial arbitrator, who shall hear the views of each of the members of the committee and decide between them. The arbitrator shall be a financial expert selected by the members of the Transfer Committee in agreement, or in default of agreement, by the President for the time being of the Permanent Court of International Justice at The Hague. If the funds at the disposal of the Agent General for reparation payments are at any time accumulated in Germany up to the limit of five milliards of gold marks, referred to in Paragraph A of Section X. of Annex 6 of the experts' report, or such lower figure as may be fixed by the Transfer Committee under Paragraph B of that section, and the committee has by a majority decided that the concerted financial manoeuvres within the meaning of Section VIII. of that annex have not taken place or that certain measures to defeat the manoeuvres contemplated in that section should not be taken, any member of the minority of the committee may within eight days appeal against such decision to an arbitral tribunal, whose decision on the matter before them shall be final.

The arbitral tribunal shall consist of three independent and impartial financial experts, including a citizen of the United

States of America, who shall act as Chairman, such experts to be selected by the committee unanimously or failing unanimity to be appointed by the President for the time being of the Permanent Court of International Justice at The Hague.

THE GERMANS INVITED

Definite agreements having been thus established, all delegates save "the Big Seven," Premier MacDonald, Premier Herriot, Premier Theunis, Ambassador Kellogg, Ambassador Hayashi, M. Hymans, the Belgian Foreign Minister, and Professor di Stefani, the Italian Foreign Minister, retired. Premier MacDonald then announced: "We are all agreed. Satan alone can separate us. Now, if you will allow me, I am going to send the invitation to the Germans." As soon as the telegram reached Berlin the Cabinet met; the invitation was formally accepted, and announcement was made that the German delegates, Chancellor Marx, Minister of Foreign Affairs Stresemann and Minister of Finance Luther, would start at once for London. On Aug. 4 Premier MacDonald informed the House of Commons that it was proposed at present that three agreements should be executed at the conference with the German delegates present. The same day Premier Herriot issued a statement in which he declared: "If the German delegates are wise, we shall have a good peace, not only for Europe, but for the entire world. Everything now depends upon the proper understanding by Germany of the part she is to play. The Allies have reached a complete agreement."

The conference entered into its second stage on Aug. 5, when the German delegates, headed by Chancellor Marx, arrived in London. Apprehension as to their attitude soon was dispated, for the next day Chancellor Marx presented a lengthy memorandum avowing Germany's sincere desire to effect a settlement. The same spirit of cooperation and progress marked succeeding sessions. On Aug. 7 it was announced that, as part of the program for payment of reparations, the conference planned an economic evacuation of the Ruhr by Oct.

5. Prime Minister Herriot left London for Paris on Aug. 9 to consult with his Cabinet; after a conference which lasted until dawn on Aug. 10, the Cabinet indorsed the Premier's policies. A significant feature of the proceedings in Paris was the placating of General Nollet, Minister of War, who, it had been reported, was about to resign because he regarded the evacuation plan as dangerous for French security; the question of security was also discussed at the Cabinet meeting and the Ministers approved M. Herriot's plan to settle the issue of military evacuation solely in connection with reparations and without regard to security. Confident in his new strength, Premier Herriot returned to London on Aug. 11.

Meanwhile progress was being made in London. The first of three protocols necessary to put the Dawes plan into operation was signed Aug. 9 by representatives of the German Government

and of the Reparation Commission; the document expressed formal acceptance of the Dawes plan. Three important accords covering the issue of deliveries in kind were signed by the Germans on Aug. 10; these agreements provided:

(1) The German Government accepts and pledges itself to execute the three reports of the Organization Committees formed under the Dawes plan in regard to the bank of issue, industrial shares and the railways and further the report on control of pledged revenues.

(2) The Reparation Commission agrees to do all in its power to facilitate the placing of the loan of 800,000,000 marks, making use for that purpose of special pledges which are part of the general lien which the commission has over German property.

(3) The German Government and Reparation Commission mutually agree to give effect to all decisions which the Inter-allied Conference may take.

America's Terms for Aid to Europe

[FULL TEXT OF ADDRESS BY CHARLES E. HUGHES, SECRETARY OF STATE, AT THE PILGRIMS DINNER, LONDON, JULY 21, 1924.]

I am off duty tonight. Borrowing the phrase of a famous statesman with respect to a certain international transaction in which he took pride, I may say that there is not the slightest taint of legality in my appearance here. For want of a more accurate description I may say that I have the privilege of being a sympathetic and unofficial observer and an altogether delighted guest. I am a returning pilgrim, who, shaking himself free of fetters, has come here to find liberty to invite his soul in choice fellowship and to do as he pleases with such conscience as a lawyer may command. In an informal way I am returning calls. We have the most agreeable memory of the visit of his Royal Highness who, with unerring aim, attacked us at our most vulnerable point and at once captured our hearts.

While it is not my purpose to speak of the many visitors from this realm and from other lands who have instructed us, exhorted us, charmed us; of those who find with us a happy hunting ground where they may bag the game of our affections, if not always of our aid, I should be wholly unjust to myself if I did not take this opportunity to make acknowledgment of the inestimable service to the cause of peace that was rendered by your delegation at the Washington conference and especially by the head of the delegation, Lord Balfour. I do not know what the future may have in store, but I do know that the peace of the world will be secure if responsible leaders work together in the spirit of that conference with

the object, not to obtain some advantage at others' expense, but to lay the surest foundation of national interest in a completely fair settlement.

As critics in every country have caviled the settlement reached at that conference there is a strong presumption that it was just, a presumption which analysis supports, and I trust that that conference will be the forerunner of others with like aims and imbued with the same spirit until the world is rid of the menace of competitive armament, and the toil of the people of all countries may serve the cause of progress instead of military preparations. President Coolidge has voiced his strong desire that this result should be attained, and that conferences to that end should be held as soon as the time is opportune.

It is a familiar saying and one worthy of all acceptance that we are all eager for a better understanding. We in America especially like to be understood—with the approval of our dominant purposes, our system of government, our modes of helpfulness. So many think and speak of America simply as a political entity without thought of its component parts, the organs of its political life, the different function of its members. Gladstone's oft-quoted observation "that the American Constitution was the most wonderful work ever struck off at a given time by the brain and purpose of man" might be supplemented by the statement that it seems to be also the most mystifying.

After all, the matter is not so very com-

plex. The sentiment of our people is expressed by our press, which gives every point of view of our composite population, the fidelity of the general picture making up for inaccuracies in the detail of the drawing. American finance speaks decisively for those who represent the American investor, who does not look to Government for either advice or security. American philanthropy is eloquent in activities which need no Government spur. American existence and competence are always ready with their response. There are the patent voices of America, which do not wait for political action, although to some extent they may find echo in such action. These are the outstretched arms of helpfulness which do not depend upon the muscular reactions of Government.

When Government acts it must act according to the order of its structure. So that when you ask: What will America say? What will America do? You must further ask yourself: To what America do you put the question? Is it to American sentiment as voiced by the press, by public men, by critics, by scholars? Is it the America of finance? Is it the America of expertness in some particular line of effort? Is it the America of philanthropy? Or is it the American Government? A better understanding is not simply a more complete appreciation of history, of social conditions, of special problems, but of organs and functions. It does not make for better understanding to arouse expectations which cannot be satisfied or to demand that something be done in one way which must be done, if at all, in another way.

It is an oft-repeated observation and one which needs emphasis and explication in the aid of a better understanding, that the American Government is one of checks and balances. No legislative majority or coalition or Parliamentary leader holds with us the powers of the Executive. The American President, great as are his powers, at the same time more and less than those of any Parliamentary leader, is still the constitutional Executive, who cannot pledge the Government beyond the limits of his constitutional authority. He is the Executive; the Congress and the leaders in Congress cannot execute for him. But if he needs money he must have the Congress supply it; if he needs legislation he must look to the Congress for it. If he would bind his country to international obligations he must have the assent of two-thirds of the Senate. In most exigencies, if the Government is to act, it must act through coordination of its branches, each having certain exclusive powers.

It must be quite apparent to you that in the international field our capacity for governmental action of a sustained character depends upon a predominant sentiment which brings the authorities of Government into union of effort. There is no promise of helpfulness abroad in division at home. Nor is it to our interest to adopt a policy by which we would create or intensify divisions at home without healing divisions abroad. Of course there are differences of opinion in all countries as to matters of foreign policy—which are usually settled by some dominant conception of national interest.

But there is a distinction between your situation and that of other European nations in relation to European questions and our situation. You are conscious of certain definite British interests prevailing; the problems of empire are never absent from the thought of your statesmen. With other European nations there are national interests clearly perceived, often strongly supported by a keen racial consciousness. questions

that have their roots in old antagonisms and diverse policies.

We, too, have our interests, but in the field of European controversies they are more remote than yours, not as direct as yours, and, with respect to such controversies, we have a different tradition. When American interests are directly involved and clearly perceived by our people, we are capable of unity of sentiment and action, and in such a case our constitutional methods are no hindrance to efficiency, as we showed in the great war. But when as a nation we are relatively disinterested, the very fact of that disinterestedness which may excite your appeal gives opportunity with us for the most acute divisions of sentiment among a people drawn from many races and countries, who are still bound by ties of sentiment and interest to many lands.

There is no promise of helpfulness in introducing into our policies and into the debates of our legislative halls the conflicts of interests of European powers. That would mean that we should render ourselves unable to do what could otherwise easily be done; and that incapacity would also produce paralysis in our domestic affairs as the energy needed for domestic problems would be exhausted in futile discussions. There are two classes of persons who give us most of our troubles—those who insist on impossibilities and those who want nothing done at all. The former, as has been well said, see everything but the difficulties; the latter see nothing else.

We have two courses in the United States. We can enter upon a field of controversy involving our historic traditions, the fears and hopes of many racial groups, and accomplish nothing. We can frankly recognize the sphere of action we can usefully fill, and accomplish much. There are certain things upon which you can count in your relations with the United States. You can count upon us as a non-aggressive power devoted to the interests of peace. We wish to promote friendship with all nations and among the nations.

The Western Hemisphere, I am happy to be able to say, is the exemplar of peace. Our Monroe Doctrine is one of the assurances of peace in that large part of the world. In Latin-America no serious sources of controversy remain; old boundary disputes have been settled or are in process of settlement. It is quite true that in the region of the Caribbean there is regrettable instability, but we endeavor constantly to throw our influence in favor of constitutional government and public order.

What an example of peace and of the goodwill which maintains peace is presented in our relations with the Dominion of Canada! It was not ever thus. We had an inheritance of strife and bitterness on both sides of the line. Not only that, but we had war and the wounds left by war. But now strife is unthinkable, as our unfortified frontier of over 5,000 miles attests. We have, of course, some small differences; there are some conflicting interests; but we know it to be almost as certain as that the planets move in their orbits that we shall have peace. How has this come about? Only by the growing spirit of neighborliness—the habit on both sides of the line of thinking in terms of peace—the determination to have amicable adjustments is the only road to peace.

Dominant American sentiment, I am quite sure, is absolutely opposed to commitments which would promise the action of Congress in unknown exigencies. Our people insist upon their liberty to form their decisions as contingencies arise. But our people have a passion for peace; you may count, as I have said, upon America's devotion to this

cause and upon our purpose to cooperate with you and with others in every way that is congenial to our institutions in the interest of peace. You may count upon our cooperation in humanitarian enterprises to promote public health, to check the spread of disease, to stop the abuse of narcotic drugs and other evils with which the nations separately cannot cope.

I am especially glad to say that you may count upon our support on fair terms of institutions of international justice. We have taken pride in the part that we have had and we recognize with grateful appreciation the great part you have had in securing resort to arbitral settlements, and we are gratified at the establishment of a permanent tribunal which we have long desired for the determination of justiciable controversies. You are doubtless acquainted with President Coolidge's utterances and the declarations in the platforms of both the great political parties upon this subject.

You may count upon our interest and assistance in the necessary measures to assure the economic rehabilitation of Europe. It does not matter that this aid is not given by the Government. Without wishing to say anything controversial on this occasion, I may give it as my conviction that had we attempted to make America's contribution to the recent plan of adjustment a governmental matter we should have been involved in a hopeless debate, and there would have been no adequate action. We should have been beset with demands, objections, instructions. This is not the way to make an American contribution to economic revival. You have the Dawes plan, and you have had the participation of American experts with the liberty of constructive effort, which was essential, because it was undertaken in the only way in which success was possible.

When you deal with economic rehabilitation you doubtless have in mind such contribution as America may be able to give in disinterested advice and later in partici-

pation in the absolutely essential loan. The important, indeed the indispensable, thing is that methods should be so contrived, and that your disposition should be such that assistance of that sort can be rendered. All discussions will be futile unless the arrangements ultimately made satisfy the investing public. We appreciate the difficulties, but we believe that the Dawes plan opens the path of confidence and prosperity. For that reason we are deeply interested in its prompt execution. My confidence that a way will be found to surmount all the existing difficulties lies in the fact that failure would invite chaos. There is no gain to any one in that. On the other hand, going forward with reasonable measures to put the plan into effect gives hope to all.

• There is no substitute for good-will, and that is greatly promoted by making possible the economic satisfactions to which industrious peoples—and all the peoples concerned are industrious—are entitled and by holding out promise of the release from the almost intolerable burdens which the great war has placed upon bent shoulders. In every effort in this direction we are aided by the abiding amity of our two peoples—the essential foundation of all endeavors in the interest of peace—a friendship which the gathering here of members of the legal profession in recognition of their common inheritance and in the enjoyment of your gracious hospitality cannot fail to make still stronger.

I believe that Gladstone remarked in a time of great difficulty that public men ought not to suffer disenchantment. They ought to know that ideals in politics are never realized. Their progress in public life is a continual process of disillusionment; but the greatest of all illusions is that we can serve and achieve without faith. It was faith which made good cause for the Pilgrims' resolve. It is faith that brings us together on this delightful journey—an unquenchable faith that some day humanity will enjoy an enduring peace and the reign of justice, and to that end we gladly pledge our lives.

Deaths of Persons of Prominence

BRIG. GEN. BYRON R. PIERCE, American soldier and last surviving General of the Union Army during the Civil War, at Grand Rapids, Mich., July 12, aged 95.

DR. DUDLEY A. SARGENT, physical educator and for forty years director of the Hemenway Gymnasium at Harvard University, at Peterborough, N. H., July 21, aged 75.

SIR WILLIAM HERDMAN, British scientist and internationally known as an authority on marine biology, at London, July 22, aged 66.

ALBERT BRUCE-JOY, eminent British sculptor, in Surrey, England, July 22.

COUNT VITTORIO CALVI DI BERGOLO, Italian diplomat and former Minister to Greece and Denmark, at Turin, July 22.

DR. RICHARD F. SCHOLZ, American educator and President of Reed College of Portland, Ore., at Portland, July 23, aged 44.

PALMER COX, Canadian-American illustrator, at Granby, Quebec, July 24, aged 84.

THE RIGHT REV. LEO HAID, Bishop of North Carolina and Dean of the Catholic Hierarchy of America, at Charlotte, N. C., July 24, aged 75.

DR. JAMES SETH, British philosopher and

Professor Emeritus of Moral Philosophy in Edinburgh University, at Edinburgh, Scotland, July 23.

FERRUCCIO BUSONI, Italian pianist and composer, at Berlin, July 27, aged 58.

PROFESSOR FRANK FROST ABBOTT, American historian and authority on Roman literature, at Montreux, Switzerland, July 28, aged 64.

EDWARD H. PEPLE, dramatist and author of a score of popular American comedies, at New York, July 28, aged 54.

JOSEPH CONRAD (TEODOR JOSEF KONRAD KORZENIOWSKI), distinguished novelist, at Bishopsbourne, near Canterbury, England, Aug. 3, aged 67. The son of a Polish farmer, he was born in the Ukraine and took to the sea as a youth; the adventures he experienced were later embodied in a series of stories and novels which placed him, by common consent, among the greatest writers of his time.

DR. GEORGE ARTHUR PIERSON, American anatomologist and author of numerous standard works on spinal diseases, at Philadelphia, Pa., Aug. 7, aged 58.

CAMILLE W. ZECKWER, American composer and author of numerous notable symphonies, at Southampton, N. Y., Aug. 7, aged 49.

WORLD FINANCE

A MONTH'S SURVEY by FRANCIS H. SISSON

Prominent American Financier

A MARKED improvement in business sentiment and some gain in trade and industrial activity have appeared during the last month. The more cheerful outlook is predicated chiefly, it appears, upon the sharp advances in the prices of farm products, especially grains and hogs. Other factors contributing to the growing optimism are the rise in stock values and the agreements reached by the Interallied Conference.

With harvesting completed in a large part of the wheat belt and with yields generally exceeding expectations, it appears that the country's crop of the principal bread grain will surpass last year's production. The Department of Agriculture's forecast, based upon estimated condition on Aug. 1, is 814,000,000 bushels, compared with a harvest of 786,000,000 bushels last year and an average for the five years 1919-1923 of 854,000,000 bushels. Conditions in other producing countries are not so favorable. Reports from Canada indicate a greatly reduced yield, some estimates placing the crop at less than one-half of last year's total. The Department of Agriculture has estimated that the wheat crops of the world, excluding Russia, will be 10 per cent. smaller than last year's production. It is this marked reduction in the world's crop which has induced the remarkable rise of wheat prices in recent weeks. The price range of wheat for September delivery on the Chicago Board of Trade Aug. 8 was \$1.27½-\$1.30¼ a bushel, which compares with a range of \$1.03½-\$1.08 in April, representing an advance of about 23 per cent. Thus a domestic crop of what may be called normal volume is met by greatly enhanced prices attributable to relative scarcity abroad.

A different situation exists with respect to corn. The effects of unfavorable weather earlier have not been fully overcome. In some sections much of the crop, it is feared, cannot mature before frost. The official report forecasts a crop of 2,576,000,000 bushels, 478,000,000 bushels less than last year's harvest and 424,000,000 bushels less than the average for the five years 1919-23. Prices of corn in Chicago for September delivery on Aug. 8 were \$1.14¼-\$1.15½ a bushel—about 53 per cent. higher than the average in May. This advance, however, cannot be regarded as an entirely favorable feature of the agricultural situation as a whole. The expected scarcity that underlies the rise of prices must be offset against the higher value. Corn is primarily a feed crop

and its price figures in the cost of animal products, hog products especially. Prices of hogs, however, have risen sharply also, about \$4 per 100 pounds, tending to conserve for the farmer who feeds his corn the benefits of the rise in price.

A much larger crop of cotton than was produced last year is expected. The Government's forecast, based upon estimated condition on Aug. 1, is for 12,354,000 bales, which compares with a yield of 10,128,000 bales last year. Spot prices in New York advanced above 35 cents in the latter half of July, reacting later to about 30 cents.

FARMERS' POSITION IMPROVED.

The indicated expansion, by many millions of dollars, in the values of leading farm products is a favorable feature of the immediate outlook for farmers. Each month since March has shown an increase in the average purchasing power of farm products in terms of other commodities, the gain from March to June being 7 per cent., according to the index of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics. In the latter month the index was higher by 10 per cent. than in any other June for four years. Average wholesale prices of farm products were then 7.6 per cent. below the all-commodities average, according to the index compiled by the Bureau of Labor Statistics. Subsequent increase in prices of both crops and animal products have further reduced this spread.

Price advances have not been confined to the agricultural staples. Various classes of commodities are quoted at substantially higher levels than obtained a few weeks earlier. Professor Fisher's weekly index of wholesale prices rose 6.4 points, or 4.5 per cent., in the three weeks ended Aug. 2, to a higher level than had been recorded since the third week in March. Dun's index advanced 1.2 per cent. in July, following a fractional gain in June. Bradstreet's index increased 3.2 per cent., scoring the first advance since last December. Especially significant is the rise in prices of cotton goods.

THE MONEY MARKET.

The Federal Reserve Bank of New York reduced its rediscount rate from 3½ per cent. to 3 per cent., effective Aug. 8. On May 1 the rate had been reduced from 4½ to 4 per cent. and on June 12 to 3½ per cent. The new rate is lower than was that of any other of the principal banks of the world when the reduction was made. The continuing decline in open market rates had

New Minds for Old In 12 Weeks!

THOUSANDS of people who only a short while ago were struggling along in low-salaried routine positions are to-day earning double and treble their former salaries and are enjoying all the luxuries that make life worth while.

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This may seem like an utter impossibility. Yet one has only to investigate the facts. Thousands of signed statements from students of this new science offer indisputable evidence to the fact that it is easily possible to acquire a new mind or that it is easily possible for anyone to secure increases in salary. (A few of these statements are reproduced below.)

How are these apparent miracles accomplished? The explanation is quite simple. Psychologists have definitely established the fact that the average man goes through life using only about one-third of his possible brain-power. This is not as surprising as it may seem. Your brain is just like any one of your muscles. Unless you keep it "in trim"—unless you give it proper exercise—it soon becomes dull, awkward, inefficient and "flabby." Yet the average man takes no steps whatever to keep his brain well developed. As a result his success faculties become weakened, and unless he develops a new mind he is doomed to live a life of inferiority or failure.

If you are now working for low pay if you have gotten yourself into a rut if you are a subordinate instead of an executive—it is a certain indication that you have let your mind "go slack." Success depends upon brain power. With a mind which is only one-third as efficient as it should be you cannot even hope for success. The thing to do, therefore, is to acquire a new mind. You can do it just as thousands of others have done it. The way is easy—it is through *Pelmanism*.

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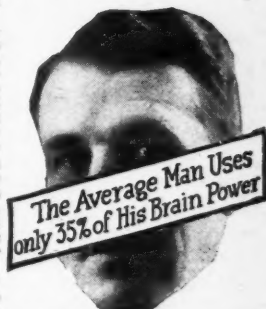
650,000 men and women in every walk of life.

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Pelmanism is meant for everyone. That is what makes *Pelmanism* a truly great science—it can help all mankind without respect to age, sex, position, religion or previous education. It is easily understood; its principles are easily applied. You will find it of deep and fascinating interest. You will be gripped by its clear logic. You will begin to feel its mysterious effect almost immediately. Many have said that even after the first hour they were conscious of a startling change in their whole attitude toward life.

Pelmanism will give you the vital spark—it will give you the type of mind you have always admired and longed for. Under its powerful influence such handicaps as timidity, lack of initiative, faulty judgment, dull perception and lack of directive ability disappear as if by magic. *Pelmanism* will swing the wasted two-thirds of your brain into action. You will actually be given a new mind—a mind which will sweep you forward, which will lead you on from success to success—until you have attained the goal you have set for yourself.



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brought the commercial paper rate below the bank's rediscount rate. The piling up of funds in the banks continues. Deposits of reporting member banks of the Federal Reserve System on July 30 totaled \$16,821,000,000, representing an increase of \$440,000,000 since June 25. Bond prices as a whole declined early in August, with a renewal of the advance following the reduction in the rediscount rate. A sharp advance in average prices of both industrial and railroad stocks was maintained with only minor interruption in June and July. One of the well-known indexes recorded in this two months' period a rise of 9.7 per cent. for rails and 13.3 per cent. for industrials. After the third week in July there was a slight reaction in the average for rails, with the rise of industrials continuing unchecked.

Corporate financing continued active in July, although the volume, in keeping with the usual seasonal tendency, was less than in June. New securities issued totaled approximately \$300,000,000, the largest aggregate being offered by public utilities. New issues in the first week of August included \$10,000,000 Canadian Pacific Railway Company 4 per cent. consolidated debenture stock and \$25,000,000 Kingdom of Norway twenty-year 6 per cent. external loan sinking fund gold bonds. Foreign security offerings in the first six months of the year totaled \$384,000,000, comparing with \$195,000,000 in the first half of last year and \$237,000,000 in the second half.

Exchange rates in New York for the principal European currencies have advanced appreciably in recent weeks, reflecting in some degree the confidence inspired by the approach to a settlement of reparation problems. A number of quotations made new high records for 1924 in August. In the four weeks ended Aug. 8 the following net advances in cable transfer rates were representative of the upward movement: Sterling, from \$4.3532 to \$4.5324; French francs, from \$.0508 to \$.0560; Belgian francs, from \$.0451 to \$.0512; lire, from \$.0427 to \$.0450; Dutch guilders, from \$.3773 to \$.3896, and Norwegian crowns, from \$.1336 to \$.1391.

PRODUCTION AND TRADE.

Basic production has receded further. Average daily production of pig iron in July was 57,577 tons, about 15 per cent. less than the rate for June, and the lowest since January, 1922. The daily output of steel ingots, 71,901 tons, was 12.6 per cent. below the figure for the previous month, and equal to only 45 per cent. of the average for last March. Selling of finished products increased in the latter part of July and early in August.

Average daily output of crude petroleum in the week ended Aug. 2 was 2,005,100 barrels, as compared with the year's low of 1,884,050 in the first week of January, and the high record of 2,280,700 barrels in the first week of last September. A seasonal reduction in stocks of gasoline, which had

reached a new high level at the end of May, was the result of June consumption, exceeding by 8.4 per cent. that for the corresponding month last year, and an appreciable decline in production from the high record established in May.

Loadings of revenue freight continued in July—except the first week, which contained a holiday—the weekly gains which began in the middle of June. In the week ended July 26 a slight decline was again reported. Earnings of Class 1 railroads in June, reported on Aug. 5, were greater than in May. Net income for the month was \$65,528,960, compared with \$60,595,197 in May and \$88,287,500 in June last year. Earnings represented, on a yearly basis, a return of approximately 4.09 per cent. on tentative valuation, compared with 4.22 per cent. in May and 5.47 per cent. in the preceding June. Although the curtailment of traffic resulted in a decline of 14 per cent. in operating revenues in June, compared with the corresponding month last year, operating expenses declined 12.6 per cent. in the same period. Shipments of locomotives by builders for domestic use in June totaled 134, as against 221 in the corresponding month last year. And following the extraordinarily large outlay for new equipment in 1923, domestic orders for 72,242 new freight cars were placed in the first half of this year, compared with 67,294 in the corresponding months of 1922.

Business failures reported to Bradstreet's in July showed a general trend toward a reduction of insolvencies, but with aggregate liabilities larger than in June or in July a year ago. The number of failures was 1,533, the smallest monthly total since last September.

The curtailment of industrial production, with consumption at close to normal levels, has resulted in a considerable reduction of stocks of commodities. The weighted index of forty-five basic commodity stocks compiled by the Department of Commerce, based upon 1919 average stocks at 100, with allowance for seasonal factors, stood at 132 on June 30, as against 142 on May 31 and 115 at the end of June last year.

Bank clearings in the principal cities outside of New York in July were larger by 5.4 per cent. than in July, 1923. The gain in New York City clearings was 16.5 per cent.

Further decline of values in both branches of the foreign trade was reported for June. The value of exports, \$306,000,000, was \$29,000,000 less than in May and \$14,000,000 less than the figure for the previous June. Imports, valued at \$274,000,000, showed corresponding reductions of \$29,000,000 and \$46,000,000, respectively. Comparison of the figures for June with those a year earlier shows that the decline in exports was confined to the groups of foodstuffs and raw materials, with a slight gain in manufactures. Each of the main groups of imports except crude foodstuffs and food animals declined, crude materials

for use in manufacturing most of all. Exports to Europe increased slightly, while those to North American countries, principally Canada, declined. The decline in imports was fairly general, with only one of the grand geographical divisions, South America, showing an increase. For the entire fiscal year ended June 30, as compared with the previous year, exports increased \$355,000,000, while imports declined \$227,000,000. The excess of merchandise exports over imports was \$757,000,000, as against \$176,000,000 in 1922-23.

GREAT BRITAIN.

British foreign trade figures for the first six months of this year indicate that imports are still increasing more rapidly than exports, a condition which tends to offset other influences making for an appreciation in the exchange value of sterling. Average monthly imports for the half year totaled nearly £100,000,000, as compared with an average of £90,000,000 for the whole year 1923, and the average for exports was £77,000,000, as against £74,000,000 last year.

The iron output in June was 6.6 per cent. less than in May and 13 per cent. less than in June, 1923. Steel production was 19 per cent. less than in May. The number of furnaces in blast at the end of June was 185, the smallest reported since January, 1923.

The Government's proposed housing scheme, recently under discussion, contemplated the building of 2,500,000 houses in fifteen years, starting with 90,000 in 1925 and working up to 225,000 in 1934. The Government would pay £9 a year per house (or £12.10.0 if in an agricultural area), and the local authority would pay £4.10.0, for forty years as a means of reducing rents below levels corresponding with building costs. Where a smaller subsidy would reduce the rent to that of similar pre-war houses, the subsidy would be reduced automatically.

An encouraging feature of the industrial situation is the decrease in unemployment. The number of the unemployed on June 30 was 1,096,500, or 276,123 less than at the beginning of the year.

FRANCE.

The French Government's receipts for the first half of this year showed a marked increase in tax yields. Total permanent revenue was 11,760,000,000 francs, or 2,544,000,000 francs more than in the first six months of 1923.

Comparison of the foreign trade for the same periods shows this year an excess of exports amounting to 1,410,000,000 francs, as against an excess of imports totaling 510,000,000 francs last year. The value of exports increased 50 per cent., as against a growth of 36 per cent. in imports. What is usually called a favorable trade balance is something new in the experience in France. Before the war that country's imports of merchandise regularly exceeded exports—a condition



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ITALY.

Italian imports for the first four months of 1924 amounted to 5,814,700,000 lire, an increase of 301,000,000 lire over 1923. Exports were 4,357,300,000 lire, an increase of 1,200,000,000 lire over figures for last year. The excess of import values for the first third of 1924 was thus 1,458,400,000 lire, as compared with 2,382,000,000 for the same period in 1923. This import balance is mainly due to trade with Great Britain and the United States, from which countries Italy draws most of her coal and essential raw materials, such as cotton and oil. On the other hand, her trade with Austria, France, Germany, Switzerland and Argentina shows an excess of exports.

Following its settled policy of encouraging agricultural production, the Government has taken measures to provide credit to assist disabled war veterans in the acquisition of small holdings. The Government will pay 2.5 per cent. as part of the interest on loans made for this purpose, drawing from the funds provided by the recent law on credit for agricultural improvements. Loans from this same fund will also be made for improving olive plantations with a view to increasing the yield of this valuable crop.

Active developments of the hydroelectric industries of Italy is in progress. There are now twenty-four central hydroelectric stations under construction which will generate 2,209,000,000 kilowatt hours yearly, while plans are being made for fifty-six other stations to generate 3,908,500,000 kilowatt hours. An important number of these stations will be in Southern Italy (Calabria and Sardinia), where the lack of cheap power for industrial purposes has hitherto retarded development. Very important plants are also being planned and built in the Trentino, one of the provinces which Italy recovered from Austria after the war.

RUSSIA.

Figures recently reported by the Russian Bureau of Import and Export Trade show exports from Russia in the first six months of the fiscal year ended Oct. 1 valued at 179,275,000 gold



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rubles, compared with exports of 47,884,000 gold rubles in the first half of the fiscal year 1922-23 and 85,359,000 in the second half. Imports were valued at 83,490,000 gold rubles, against 71,852,000 in the first half and 78,221,000 in the second half of the preceding year.

Russian trade with the United States, especially her exports to this country, has increased rapidly in the last year, although total values remain small. The Department of Commerce reported imports from Russia in Europe in the last fiscal year valued at \$4,296,000, more than four times the value in 1922-23. Exports to Russia last year were valued at \$22,451,000, or more than twice the figure for the previous year.

It was officially announced on Aug. 6 that the protracted Anglo-Russian conference in London had resulted in certain agreements, a general and a commercial treaty having been negotiated. Among the objects of the negotiations was a contemplated loan to Russia of £75,000,000, the greater part of the proceeds to be used for the purchase of commodities greatly needed in that country for economic recovery. The treaties were signed on Aug. 8.

REPARATION AGREEMENT.

The agreement reached at the London conference by the allied representatives early in August on conditions to govern the application of the Dawes plan to the reparation and related problems gave promise of far-reaching benefits. Economic conditions throughout the world have been profoundly affected by the long deadlock respecting reparations, and the operation of the Dawes plan, it is expected, will hasten the restoration of something like normal economic stability, particularly in Europe. When this plan is actually in effect American industry and commerce will be influenced by the large volume of international payments contemplated, and the huge aggregate of debts owing the United States Government by the principal Governments which lay claim to reparation from Germany will broaden the scope of the possible effects upon our national economy. It is expected that a part of the contemplated loan of approximately \$200,000,000 to Germany will be offered to investors in this country. Moreover, new opportunities abroad for the investment of American capital should logically follow. These will be presented not only in Germany but elsewhere, as preparation is made for an all-round development of trade between the nations. There is danger perhaps that we shall expect a prompt realization of the benefits to follow the reparation settlement than is possible. The effects of such extreme disturbances of economic relationships, destruction of physical wealth, loss of life and political upheavals as have resulted from the war cannot be overcome at once. At best the restoration of approximately normal conditions can be effected only gradually.



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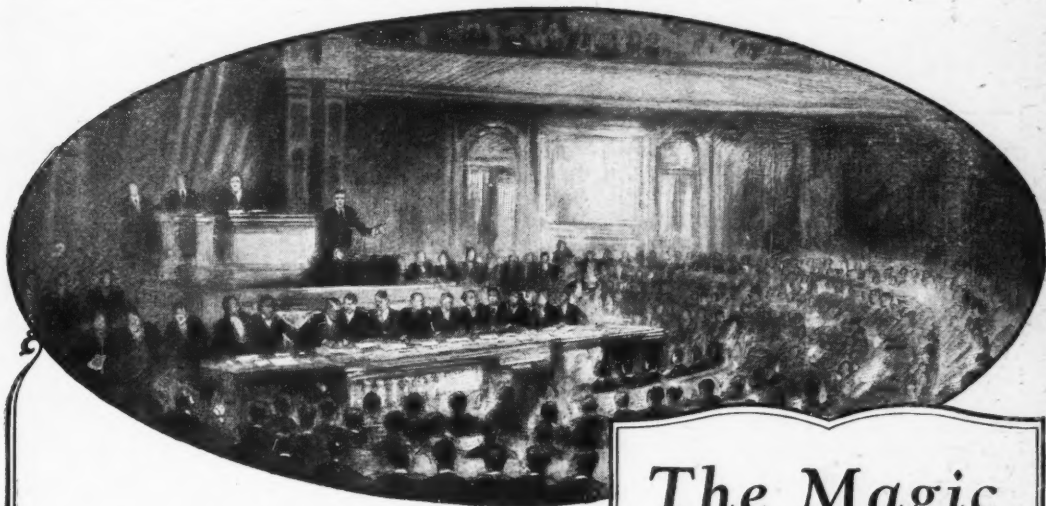
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Contemporary History and Biography

THE LIFE OF CALVIN COOLIDGE. By Horace Green. New York: Duffield & Co.

Candor and poise distinguish Mr. Green's portrait of the President; the work is striking because it lacks the little artifices so often employed by biographers. The author is sympathetic, but not ardent, and succeeds in maintaining a satisfying balance; his chronicle of the quiet Vermonter who now occupies the White House has numerous authoritative touches.

Mr. Green pays even more than the expected attention to the Boston police strike episode; President Coolidge as Governor was alone responsible, Mr. Green insists, for the ultimate termination of the strike:

Upon the third phase of the strike—who pressed the victory to its conclusion; who refused, under pressure and threat, to reinstate the striking policemen; who clearly and simply stated the issues involved; who concentrated public approval upon the precise truths which every one vaguely realized, but wanted to hear emphatically blazoned from the housetops—there can be no argument. It was Coolidge and Coolidge alone. * * * His ultimatum to Gompers, "There is no right to strike against the public safety by anybody, anywhere, any time," will perhaps be remembered with the great phrases of American history.

It is to Mr. Green's gift for characterization, however, that this biography owes its chief value; the author's final miniature of President Coolidge is strikingly vivid:

* * * a dry, wiry, shrewd, hardworking little man, wiry but not robust, uninspiring to the eye, but dignified in action; listening freely for advice, with an extraordinary gift for condensing public sentiment when he detects it; a man who would make more of a fighting impression were he cock-sure, of his convictions and his physique; an honest, patient student with a large and philosophic view of the public good, doing his level best for the party and the country; a clean-cut, Down-East Yankee; * * * in short, to many who have tried to study him, rather lonesome, rather lovable, and, so far, quite unsolved.

ALTGELD OF ILLINOIS: A Record of His Life and Work. By Waldo R. Browne. New York: Huebsch.

John Peter Altgeld, at one time Governor of Illinois and stormy petrel of American affairs during the '90s, emerges from these pages a mild liberal, rather than the anarchistic revolutionary which conservative opinion of three decades ago held him to be. Mr. Browne, who is a partisan biographer and indulges in frequent endorsement of the Altgeld philosophy, finds a parallel between Altgeld's early life and that of Lincoln's.

Each was born of humble parents and reared in country poverty; each bore a heavy yoke of hardship and deprivation in youth; each was

chiefly self-educated by grace of a passion for reading. Later each had experience as a soldier and as a common laborer. Each turned to the study and practice of law, settled permanently in Illinois, went into politics, and eventually wrote his name large in the annals of his adopted State. But certain inspiring influences that shone from both within and without upon the young Lincoln never lightened Altgeld's early years. No innate harmony with environment no confidence bred of high animal spirits and unusual physical strength, no provisions of a great destiny, no wholehearted devotion of a noble mother or encouragement of a sympathetic father, no congenial comradeships ever gladdened or fortified his youth. He was a step-child of fortune, a lonely alien far more in spirit than by birth amid conditions that were not merely hard and unpropitious but for the most part aggressively hostile.

THE GREAT GAME OF POLITICS. By Frank R. Kent. Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday, Page & Co.

A DICTIONARY OF AMERICAN POLITICS. By Edward Conrad Smith. New York: The A. L. Burt Company.

HISTORY OF POLITICAL THOUGHT. By Raymond G. Gettell. The Century Political Science Series. New York: The Century Company.

The mystery that is politics excites especial interest with the nearing of the Presidential elections; effort is made, in these volumes, to interpret politics for the benefit of the lay reader. Mr. Kent analyses the political machine, discusses the men who "boss" it, and describes with an interesting pen the intrigues and manoeuvres which often determine nominations. Though frankly admitting that much in American politics is uncouth, dishonest and degrading, Mr. Kent hastens to add that this is not the whole of the picture:

This does not mean that there are not plenty of sound candidates who, on the vital issues of the campaign, express themselves with complete honesty and fearlessness, and whose moves back of the scenes have nothing in them of which they need be ashamed. What it means is this—even in everyday private life there is a certain amount of restraint in human intercourse. Men do not blurt out everything that is in their souls when dealing with other men. It would be a terrible world if they did. We are all humbugs to a certain degree. The difference is that when a man—even the highest and best types we have—enters public life and begins to seek votes he has to humbug a vast deal more than in private life.

A new sort of compilation is that offered by Professor Smith: he has assembled brief biographies of Presidents, Vice Presidents and unsuccessful Presidential candidates, whose personalities have come down through American history. The book, while necessarily containing arbi-

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Contemporary History and Biography

Continued from Page Preceding Last
trary judgments, is an interesting contribution to the literature of politics.

The task essayed by Mr. Getell is considerably more ambitious—that of tracing political development through 2,500 years. Mr. Getell finds little to enthuse about in the present European situation; he writes:

The conservative tendency, typified by the Fascist movement in Italy, the military movement in Spain and the royalist movements in Central Europe and even in France, were all characterized by a distrust of politicians and of the red tape of Government and by a fear of communistic success. Dictatorship has had a strong revival in Europe.

The author adds that, of late:

The application of psychology to political theory and the recent investigation into the nature of public opinion and of the influences that affect it have led many writers to adopt a decidedly anti-democratic attitude.

THE HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES
ARMY. By William Addleman Ganoe, Major of Infantry, U. S. A. New York: D. Appleton & Co.

Treating of the Army as an individual defensive unit, Major Ganoe reaches back to the infant days of the Republic and reviews the growth of the institution from its birth in 1775 to the post-war uncertainty of 1923. The record is notably free from controversial matter, the author restricting himself to an unbiased history. Major Ganoe possesses a keen sense of the dramatic, which does much to enhance the value of his book to the average reader. Only once does he allow personal opinion to obtrude; the concluding paragraph of the volume contains this plea for preparedness:

This, being a history, may not argue; it only records. But the facts recited from 1775 to 1923 seem to clarify at least one point. When we were strong, disciplined, trained and well organized, we gained a swift peace. When we were not so constituted, we lost lives and money fruitlessly. It was not war of itself that brought so much horror to our people, as did our comfortable sleep in the intervals of quiet.

A notable feature of Major Ganoe's work is the assembly of military tables and data which is appended to the volume: this material includes a bibliography which should prove of high value to students.

GENERAL BOTHA. By Earl Buxton. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co.

This life of the first Prime Minister of the

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Contemporary History and Biography

Continued from Preceding Page

Union of South Africa, by the former Governor General of that State, is the story of a vibrant personality and an indomitable energy. The achievements of Premier Louis Botha, both as soldier and statesman, have won for him a secure place in the history of South Africa. Earl Buxton writes as an admirer and friend; to this degree, the work is lacking in historical perspective. The author's position as confidant, however, gave him access to much personal data of value; Earl Buxton has drawn generously upon the wealth of information at hand, and the result is an interesting and significant biography.

THOSE EUROPEANS. By Sisley Huddleston. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons.

Mr. Huddleston presents a series of pen studies of the leading personalities of post-bellum Europe. Himself a distinguished British press correspondent, he has enjoyed the intimate friendship of Presidents, Prime Ministers and Dictators; his interpretations of such figures as MacDonald, Clemenceau, Masaryk, Primo de Rivera, are notably readable. Literary celebrities also are sketched in this book of the eminent, Anatole France and Gabriele d'Annunzio being the subjects of two interesting papers.

SYRIA AND THE SYRIANS. By Mrs. H. H. Spoer. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons.

These observations upon Syrian conditions and affairs are the fruits of the personal experiences of a keenly perceptive British woman. As manager of the large Palestine estates of the Marquis of Bute, Mrs. Spoer enjoyed contact with virtually all classes in the Near East. Her book is an intimate picture of Syria both as a land of picturesque Asiatics and as an economic entity.

A HISTORY OF POLITICAL IDEAS. By C. R. Morris and Mary Morris. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons.

POLITICAL PARTIES AND PARTY PROBLEMS IN THE UNITED STATES. By James A. Woodburn. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons.

The first of these volumes constitutes a penetrating study of the evolution of political thought from the eras of Plato and Rome down to contemporary institutions. The second is a new edition of a specialized work which has become standard; especial interest centres about Mr. Woodburn's well-known volume in view of the present uncertain state of party organization in the American Congress.

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A tribute of signal poignancy reaches the editor from **Miss Mary Dever** of Cleveland, Ohio. She writes:

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* * *

Wilhelm Saphra, President of the *Englischer Sprach Club* of Dresden, Germany, praises the content of the magazine as "an agreeable change from the one-sided and frequently biased articles in other publications of your country." He adds:

As a German I am naturally mostly interested in all affairs dealing with my native land, and it is equally natural that my views are in some ways divergent from those appearing in your journal. This, however, does not in any way detract from the real pleasure I am deriving from your publication.

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theory	interest	problem	delegate
absolute	organization	commissioner	historical
dictator	department	naturally	consequence
political	creature	liberal	ideal
social	confiscate	aspiration	action
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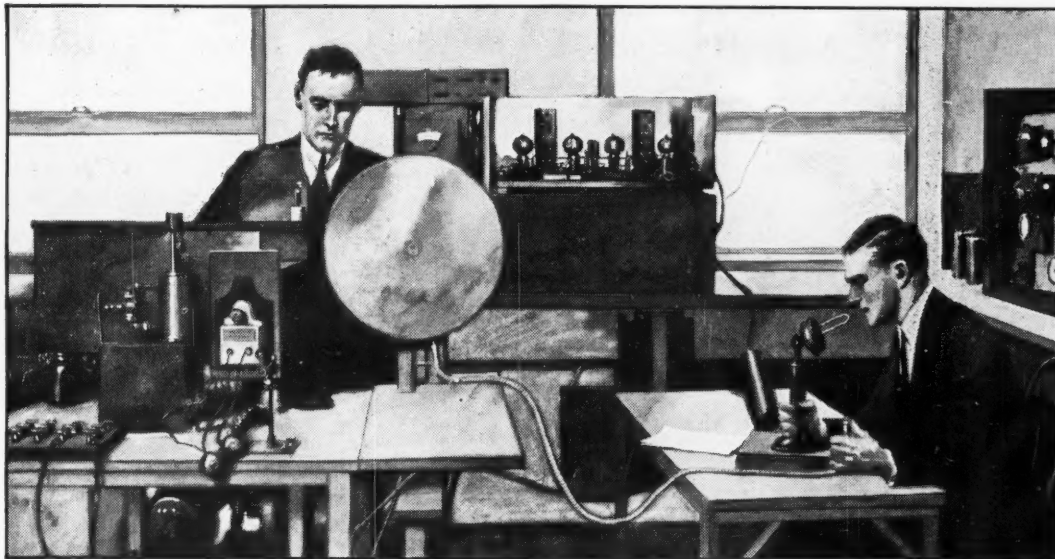
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